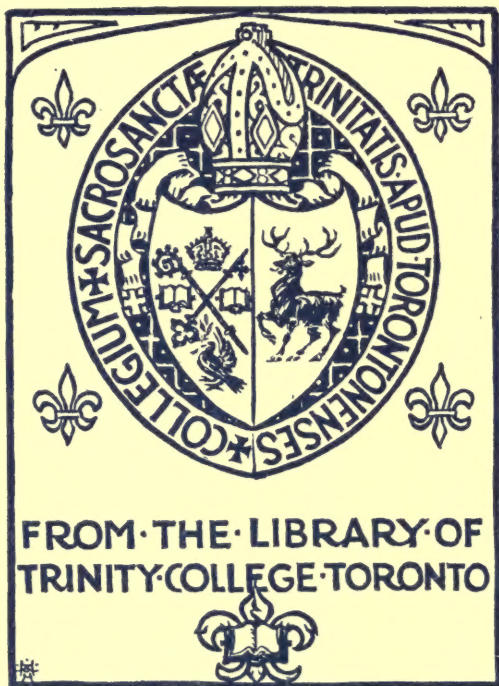


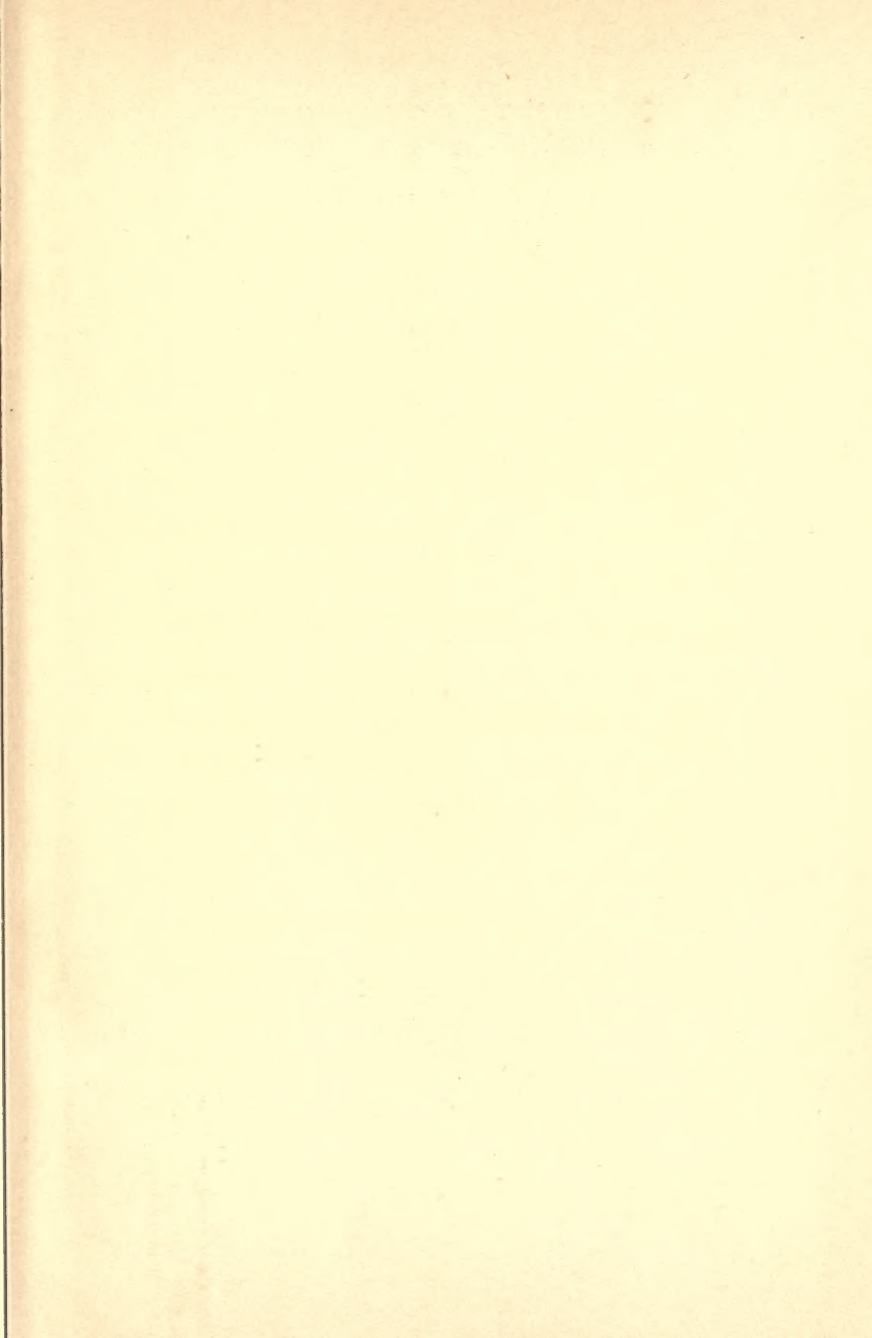
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ENGLAND UNDER THE OLD RELIGION

AND OTHER ESSAYS

BY

FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET, D.D.

ABBOT-PRESIDENT OF THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINES



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TO THE READER

THE papers published in this volume do not seem to call for any formal introduction. They are printed in this collected form at the request of certain friends, because many of them are now not otherwise accessible. The essay which stands first, and which gives the title to the volume, was written many years ago but was not at the time printed. The subject I subsequently treated at some length in my *Eve of the Reformation*, and a great deal of light has lately been thrown upon it by the publication of Dr. James Gairdner's three volumes on *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*. To this important work I might perhaps have usefully appealed to strengthen by Dr. James Gairdner's authority the conclusions I had reached many years ago. In place of the notes I had prepared for this purpose I prefer to send my readers to these instructive volumes, as necessary for all students of this period of our history.

Several others of these papers have not previously been printed in England. They formed the subjects of a series of lectures given some years ago in America, and were printed at the time in a well-known publication connected with Notre Dame University, Indiana, U.S.A.,—the *Ave Maria*. The Essay on *Anglican Orders* was likewise printed as a booklet, but it has always been difficult to obtain in England, and has lately, I believe,

been out of print even in America. For this reason I have been asked to include it in this volume.

My thanks are due to those who have allowed me to reprint my papers, and to Dom Norbert Birt who has seen this volume through the press and has added a general Index.

FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET.

CAMPOLUNGO,
LE CALDINE, FLORENCE.
2nd October 1912.

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ENGLAND UNDER THE OLD RELIGION¹

AT the dawn of the sixteenth century one form of religion only was recognised in the greater part of the Western World. Christian Europe, with the solitary exception of the Muscovite territory, at that time professed to be one in faith and one in ecclesiastical government, the various nations and peoples forming parts of a single organised Church with its centre at Rome. Here and there, indeed—as in Bohemia for example—small bodies of men and women had broken away from the visible unity of the Catholic Church. But on all hands these were regarded merely as sectaries with no call for consideration except as heretics such as the Church had frequently cast off from itself in the course of its long existence. In less than half a century change had come: the state of things, which whether for good or evil had in fact lasted for many hundreds of years, had passed away like a dream, and the ecclesiastical unity of Europe was broken apparently beyond remedy.

The present sketch deals with the ecclesiastical condition of England whilst as yet the country remained linked in the closest bonds of unity of faith and practice

¹ A paper written in 1903, but not then printed.

with the other churches of Western Europe. It is necessary at the outset to define clearly the standpoint from which it is proposed to take a general survey of the country and people. We are concerned here only with England as a unit of Catholic Christendom: that is to say, with England whilst it still remained under the sway of the undoubted influences which had been exerted on the country and people for nearly a thousand years by the ecclesiastical system, which had existed up to this time in the land. For our present purpose affairs of state, social and political movements, commercial progress and prosperity, foreign and domestic diplomacy and the like, even the action and influence of individual princes and statesmen may be disregarded. Our range of view is here necessarily limited to the condition of England at this period in its religious aspect; or rather, to put it more definitely, our present concern is with the world of life and thought at the period immediately preceding the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, when as yet the most potent influence upon the popular mind morally and intellectually was the existing ecclesiastical system.

At this period the far-reaching power and commanding influence of the English Church may be admitted as an undoubted fact, whatever view we may prefer to hold as to the worth of the system itself or of the truth of the principles it upheld. Its vast organisation in the course of the centuries of its existence had spread itself over the land and had struck its roots deep into the soil. It manifested its external greatness in the majestic cathedrals and stately abbeys which its spirit had created, and in the really noble structures which still "even in remote parochial districts, fill the spectator with aston-

ishment, as if their founders out of worldly vanity built temples to God ten times larger than the requirements of the population.”¹ The energy of its being was patent to the world in the hospitals, colleges, and schools which either owed their existence to its initiative, or had grown and multiplied under its fostering care; whilst in its parochial system the pulse of its life beat with vigour and regularity in every hamlet in the land, and gave light and courage and strength, even human interest and corporate existence, to thousands of obscure villages scattered over the length and breadth of the country. As an organisation it went back into the past beyond the ken of history. It had survived amid turmoil and trouble, amid national danger and disaster, and it had witnessed the fall, as before it had witnessed the rise, of the various dynasties which for periods more or less lengthy had ruled over the destiny of England.

All this may, and indeed must, be admitted as a fact by the student of history wholly apart from the question of the worth of the system itself. Upon this matter opinions will differ; the existence of the system is not open to doubt.

We are not at present concerned with the details of this vast organisation; nor, indeed, to examine the purely ecclesiastical action of the Church at this period. Our desire is mainly to gauge the extent and character of the influence exerted by the Church on the English people at the close of the mediaeval portion of our history, and to determine its position before the full dawn of the modern period had scattered what is called “the darkness” of the preceding ages, and the new light had brought about many and perhaps inevitable changes.

¹ Brewer, ii, 471.

What can be said, for example, about the action of this great and ancient ecclesiastical system upon society at large? What manifestations of its life, energy, and influence, if any, are to be detected in the closing period of its supremacy? What was the attitude of its rulers, for instance, to the intellectual movements which form a marked feature in the latter half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century? These and such like are questions which fully deserve the unbiassed consideration of the student as a preliminary to the formation of any fairly accurate estimate of the period of modern history which immediately follows.

Other matters also, closely connected with the subject of England at this period, hardly less important than the foregoing, deserve consideration and examination. The clergy generally and the religious bodies form but one part, and that obviously by no means the largest part, of the Church, and it is consequently necessary to look upon the subject from the point of view of the people as distinct, or at least as differing, from the purely ecclesiastical side of the matter. What, for example, at this period was the attitude of the English nation at large towards the religious system as it then existed? How were they affected towards and by the teachings and practices of religion as they then knew them in this country? Does the evidence which we possess show them to have been on the whole docile to the instruction of the ministers of the Church, or were they, on the contrary, eagerly looking out for any chance help which might serve to emancipate them from a clerical domination which time and custom had imposed upon them? Were they fairly content with what they had inherited from their forefathers, or were they ready to free their

minds from teachings which they had learnt to discredit, and deliver their souls from practices they had come to regard as superstitious and degrading to the true Christian character? As a fact, then, were the people in general fairly careful to observe the forms and practices of the then religious worship, or were they ever ready to seize upon any excuse to free themselves from obligations they no longer regarded as binding on the conscience? As a fact, was the nation athirst for what it conceived to be pure Gospel teaching, free from the accretions and superstitious practices which had grown up about it during the lapse of ages?

These are questions which may be discussed, as mere matters of fact, wholly without bias for or against the religious system which then prevailed in England. It must at the outset be confessed that the picture of Catholic England usually presented in our history books is drawn with black lines against a dark background. It is represented that the prevailing ecclesiastical system had outlived its time, and that, whilst itself manifesting all the evils, moral and social, inherent in the process of natural decay, it had become wholly impotent to deal with or resist the flood of those enlightened views which came rolling in with the dawn of modern times. The clergy, secular as well as religious, are described as not merely themselves ignorant and uncultured, but as the active and uncompromising foes of learning in others, seeing in fuller knowledge and light the overthrow of their supremacy. The people generally at this period are described as examples of careless disregard of the forms and practices of religion, and the best of them as looking forward to emancipation from the existing clerical tyranny.

Such is the picture which is very commonly presented as being a fair representation of the state of things in Catholic England immediately before the great change of religion in the sixteenth century. We have fortunately ample material at hand to enable us to form for ourselves an accurate judgment of its correctness. Without doubt there were defects and difficulties, abuses also—perhaps even gross abuses—existing, but the question is whether they were not defects, difficulties, and abuses which cannot in fairness be considered inherent in the system, however much they may be thought to have in some measure contributed to its overthrow. What does an examination of the available evidence show? We begin by a consideration of what is known about the attitude of the Church authorities to learning in general, and in particular to the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, known as "*the new learning*."

With the history of this renaissance we have here no concern beyond recalling certain facts which bear immediately upon our present subject and which, if fairly considered, seem to prove beyond the possibility of doubt that not only did the ecclesiastical authorities in England as a body welcome the new light, but that both in the origin of the movement and in its subsequent progress they were its chief cause and support.

For the attitude of the clergy in general to education and to what is known as the "humanist" movement at this period, it may be here sufficient to refer to the abundant evidence to be found in the numerous letters of Erasmus. According to his testimony—and it is impossible to wish for a better judge—England was then the promised land of true scholarship, the great hope for the future. Again and again he names as the chief

patrons of learning and as those who gave most encouragement to true classical and critical studies, the most distinguished English churchmen of the period. It is impossible to doubt the real sentiments of the church authorities on this matter when we find Archbishop Warham, Bishop Tunstal, Dean Colet, William Latimer, Richard Croke, Thomas Lupset and the saintly Bishop Fisher, not to mention Grocyn and Linacre (who in the last years of his life entered the sacred ministry) among the warmest friends of Erasmus and as the most ardent and consistent advocates of "the new learning."

That there was opposition might almost go without saying. Of course there were to be found some who actively opposed the movement, and others who looked askance at it, especially after the publication of Erasmus' translation of the New Testament from the Greek. It could hardly have been otherwise in a case such as this; ecclesiastics, for the most part, were then the intellectual heirs of those who, since the time of Roger Bacon's futile attempt in the thirteenth century to establish critical investigation as the surest and most faithful handmaiden of theology and sacred studies generally, had been accustomed to accept unquestioned stereotyped scholastic conclusions. Men with minds trained in this wise suddenly found an appeal proclaimed to original authorities, and the demand formulated that theology should be studied in the text of Sacred Scripture, and in the works of the Fathers rather than in the well worn manuals of the schools. What could they think? especially when by the publication of Erasmus' version of the Testament they found that the same principles of criticism, which scholars had been lately applying to the pagan classics, were now to be considered by the advanced school as

proper to be applied to the sacred text itself. "Theologians and monks" are, according to Erasmus, the most conservative members of the old school, and most actively opposed to the new movement. Doubtless there were many such, who regarded with fear and suspicion all humanist criticism as applied to sacred subjects. In all movements such as this the hostility and opposition of those of an older school of thought is inevitable, and from their point of view most reasonable. But with all this the letters sent out of England to Erasmus and other scholars abroad, on the first publication of the New Testament, translated from the Greek, prove that as a body the English Bishops and other distinguished ecclesiastics cordially approved the principles of this critical investigation of the sacred text. Also it is clear that, under the direct and personal influence of Bishop Fisher, the theological studies at Cambridge were at this time remodelled, and in the opinion of competent judges vastly improved upon the new principles and methods introduced by the humanists.

Inevitably under the circumstances, both in England and among theologians of the old school abroad—at Louvain and Paris for example—there was a tendency to find in the rise of the new learning a phase of the then growing revolt against the existing ecclesiastical system. The ugly word "heresy" was uttered somewhat freely, and many in their perhaps natural, but unreasoning, alarm declared that Erasmus, the recognised leader of the "humanists," was not merely Lutheran in his spirit and sympathy, but that he had in fact assisted the German reformer in some of his most drastic attacks against Rome, and the universally recognised form of ecclesiastical government. Against such accusations and

insinuations Erasmus loudly protested. They were, he contended, warranted neither by fact nor presumption. Luther, he pointed out, had never shown the least inclination for the new learning, or its methods; nor in the whole of the reformer's works, so far as he had heard (for he himself, he avers, had never read them) had the German leader ever professed to base his arguments on the new criticism, or to fashion his attacks in form or substance upon it. Far from allowing that there was any alliance offensive and defensive between the spirit of the new learning and that of the Reformation, Erasmus plainly and loudly laments the method of Luther's attacks, as calculated to produce what he frequently calls a "tragedy," and with true and prophetic insight predicts that the movements will prove to be not only the disruption of ecclesiastical unity but the letting loose of a flood, in which the new spirit of true learning would be overwhelmed and killed in its early growth. As a proof that the humanist studies were not in any way hostile to the spirit of the Church, he claims not only that in all he had done he was actuated by a desire to serve it to the best of his power, but that in all things he was the faithful subject of Rome, working with the approval of Popes, Cardinals, and Bishops, and having received encouragement from the best and truest and most faithful churchmen in England, including the saintly Bishop Fisher and the most profoundly religious layman of his age, Sir Thomas More. Whilst recognising, as so many at that period did, the need of church reform in "head and members," this recognised leader of the new learning more than once recorded his conviction that Lutheranism was in reality a revolution, which must inevitably prove to be to the world religious and

secular nothing less than a catastrophe, and declared his determination, that come what might, he would himself never be anything but a true and loyal son of Holy Church.

Taking then a broad survey of the circumstances, it would appear not open to doubt that the intellectual movement initiated in the fifteenth century, and known as the "new learning," so far from being opposed by the ecclesiastical authorities in England at that period, received its chief support from them. The same will appear on a consideration of its origin. The first name certainly connected with any systematic attempt to implant in England the seeds of the humanist studies which had begun to bear such ample fruit in the soil of Italy is that of a monk of Canterbury, William Sellyng. After studying at his monastic college at Oxford, he obtained the sanction of his Canterbury brethren in 1464 to proceed to Italy with another monk of the same house, Thomas Hadley, in search of the learning of ancient Greece, which some few years before had been brought thither, and which had inflamed many with an ardour hitherto unknown for classical and critical studies. From Italy, where after sitting at the feet of the best teachers of the age¹ he and his companion took their degrees in 1466 and 1467, the two monks returned to their monastery at Canterbury, bringing back not merely the knowledge they had acquired in the best schools of Italy, but a precious store of manuscript copies of the ancient classics and of Greek patristic literature. Other journeys to Italy followed, and in time Sellyng became Prior, and Hadley sub-prior of their monastery at Canterbury.

¹ Mazzetti Serapino, *Memorie storiche sopra l'università di Bologna*, 1840, p. 308.

Through Prior Sellyng's direct teaching and influence the lamp of learning was handed on to Linacre and Grocyn, and when in 1486 the monk was sent by Henry VIII as spokesman of an important embassy to the Pope, he took his young *protégé*, Linacre, with him to Italy, and induced the celebrated Angelo Politiano to undertake his training in the classical languages of Greece and Rome. The fame of the pupil has somewhat obscured that of his master, but whilst Linacre and his fellow student Grocyn have long been regarded as the originators of the English literary renaissance, the real pioneers of the movement were indubitably the two Canterbury Benedictines, who more than twenty years before had recognised the importance of the new light, had sought it in Italy, and brought it back to their own country.

There is, moreover, abundance of proof that in the monasteries of England there were those who were not backward in profiting by the advance made at this time in education and scholarship. The name of Prior Charnock, the Oxford friend of Colet and Erasmus, is perhaps better known than those of some others with an equal claim to be considered leaders in the movement. There is evidence of the existence of real scholarship at Reading, at Ramsey, at Glastonbury, and elsewhere. The last named house was presided over by a man apparently of real learning, Abbot Bere, who had spent some time with distinction in Italy. It was to his special criticism that Erasmus proposed to submit his translation of the New Testament from the Greek; and in the time of his predecessor in the government of the abbey a copy of one of the humanist translations was accounted as a fitting present to a monk from his abbot.¹ From the

¹ Add. MSS., 15673.

pen of Prior Sellyng we possess one of the earliest translations made in England at this time from the Greek into the Latin. It is a version of a sermon of St. John Chrysostom, and it is dated at Christchurch, Canterbury, in 1488, whilst as yet Linacre was a youth studying with the younger Medicis under Politiano at Florence. At Canterbury, too, besides the influence of Sellyng in Christchurch, over which he presided till a late period in the fifteenth century, we have evidence that the advantages of classical literature were fully recognised at the abbey of St. Augustine's. The antiquary, Twyne, declares that he had been intimately acquainted with the last abbot of that monastery, and that he had frequently heard him discourse upon the ancient classics. He knew him, he says, to have been the personal friend of the eminent scholar, Ludovico Vives, and to have sent one of his monks, whom he afterwards made Prior of his monastery, to Louvain University to study literature under this celebrated Spanish humanist.

Nor is the evidence of this literary revival at this period confined to individuals or to some few monasteries. The registers of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge prove, in regard to religious, two things: first, that a very fair proportion of those who took degrees were members of some religious Order, and secondly, that the numbers rather increased than diminished in the closing years of their corporate existence as monasteries. Moreover, the acknowledged serious diminution in the number of students at the national Universities which followed upon the dissolution of the religious houses is additional evidence of a fact sufficiently proved by the various episcopal registers that the monastic

houses and convents furnished a considerable portion of the secular clergy with the necessary "title" to enable them to enter the ranks of the priesthood and to study at the Universities.

We possess also another test of the attitude of the Church in England at the close of the fifteenth century to what, broadly speaking, may be called "progress." Two things at that time are frequently taken as evidences of the changed condition of things, the rise of the new learning and the invention of printing. The position of the ecclesiastical authorities in regard to the former has been pointed out, and the evidence compels us to regard the movement in England as in every way Catholic in its spirit; just as Jansens has long ago proved that it was in Germany warmly supported by churchmen of unsuspected orthodoxy. In regard to the latter—the invention of printing—which entirely changed the intellectual outlook at this period, there is equally clear proof that it was welcomed by the Church as a valuable auxiliary. In England the first presses were set up under the distinct patronage of churchmen, and a very large proportion of the works which were first issued from them were intended for the religious instruction of the clergy and people. Volumes of sermons, of Instructions on the creed and commandments, of meditations, of Saints' lives and of Scripture history, like the *Golden Legend*, passed quickly through successive editions from the presses of Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and other of our early printers. If we do not include what might be considered as strictly professional books intended for the use of the clergy, such as *Missals*, *Breviaries*, and *Horae*, there is still an ample supply of religious literature to instruct or to feed the piety of the

faithful, for the bulk of the output of the English presses in the first years of the existence of the new art is distinctly religious literature. Our early printers were clearly men of business, and they are hardly likely to have made choice of such volumes if they did not possess a real commercial value. In other words, this class of religious literature obviously commanded a sale, and from the many editions through which some of these books ran, we are disposed to think a ready sale, which of course implies a people well affected towards this class of literature.

Unlike Germany, France, and Italy, England, it is true, produced no early printed vernacular version of the Scriptures, and this has frequently been supposed to have been caused by the marked hostility of the ecclesiastical authorities to the production of any such version. It would seem, however, more in accordance with all that can be known upon the matter to conclude that it was rather that the need was not considered so pressing, than that the Church was determined to thwart the endeavours of a people eager to possess the Bible in their own tongue. It seems certain that some people at least were then in possession of the Scriptures in English with the approval of ecclesiastical authorities. Sir Thomas More, the most able lawyer of his age, certainly knew of no prohibition against them, and in books printed by men of authority and undoubted piety the reading of the Scriptures is strongly recommended. Thus Thomas Lupset, the *protégé* of Colet and Lilly, addresses the following advice to his sisters, two of whom were nuns: "Give thee much to reading: take heed in meditation of the Scripture; busy thee in the law of God; have a customable use in divine books."

To a young man of the world, his former pupil, he writes urging him to avoid "meddling in any point of faith otherwise than as the Church shall instruct and teach," and adds: "More particularly in writings you shall learn this lesson, if you would sometimes take in your hands the New Testament and read it with a due reverence." And also: "In reading the Gospels, I would you had at hand Chrysostom and Jerome, by whom you might surely be brought to a perfect understanding of the text."

It is of course true that on the appearance of the English Testament printed by Tyndall on the Continent in 1526, its sale was prohibited in England. But this is not surprising. Sir Thomas More denounced this version as plainly heretical, and Archbishop Warham and the English Bishops generally ordered that all who possessed copies should give them up to the authorities, because the heretical purpose of the work was fully understood. Cochlaeus, with his accurate knowledge of Lutheran movements, informs us what that purpose was: namely, that it was no mere translation which Tyndall had printed, but a work projected and carried out with the deliberate design of introducing Lutheranism into England under cover of garbled and mistranslated texts. Nor, indeed, does it appear at all likely that the popular mind was in any way stirred by the desire for Bible reading, or that England was at this period what has been called "a Bible-thirsty land." The late Mr. Brewer may be allowed to speak with authority on this matter. "Nor, indeed, is it possible," he says, "that Tyndall's writings and translations could at this early period have produced any such impression as is generally surmised, or have fallen into the hands of many readers. His

works were printed abroad; their circulation was strictly forbidden; the price of them was far beyond the means of the poorer classes, even supposing that the knowledge of letters was at that time more generally diffused than it was for centuries afterwards. To imagine that ploughmen and shepherds in the country read the New Testament in English by stealth, or that smiths and carpenters, in towns, pored over its pages in the corners of their masters' workshops is to mistake the character and requirements of the age."¹

It is very probably true that up and down the country there were some over whom the traditional teaching of the Church had lost its hold, and who would be inclined to welcome emancipation from the restraints of what they had come to regard as ecclesiastical formalism. The Venetian traveller, in A.D. 1500, describes a certain amount of mental unrest when he says that, "there are many who have various opinions concerning religion."² But so far as there is evidence on the matter at all, this dissatisfaction could only have been slight and confined within narrow limits. The common notion that on the eve of the great change the country was honeycombed by disaffection to the ancient Church, or that any real portion of the people were crypto-Lollards, has no basis of fact on which to repose. In one sense the very opposite would appear to be certain; for however striking may be the similarities traceable between the tenets of the English Wyclifites of the fourteenth century and those of the reformers of the sixteenth, it may be taken as certain that, so far as England is concerned, there is no line of descent from Wyclif and his immediate adherents to the upholders of the English Reforma-

¹ II, 468.

² Camden Soc., 163.

tion principles. As a body the Lollards had been extinct long before the advent of Lutheranism, and the few scattered individuals who may have clung to the religious tenets of Wyclif were powerless against the general consensus of opinion among their countrymen. "Heresy," as Lollard teaching was then held to be, was repressed by the strong arm of the law; and it is not open to doubt that the repression of what was an offence against the common feeling of the people was popular. "Wickliffe's preaching, at which all the succeeding reformers have effectually lighted their tapers," says Milton, "was but a short blaze soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns." This, which the insight of Milton's genius divined, is attested as a fact by the episcopal registers and other authoritative documents of the fifteenth century. Dr. James Gairdner, whose studies in this period of our national history enable him to speak authoritatively on such a matter, is fully as definitive. "Notwithstanding the darkness that surrounds all subjects connected with the history of the fifteenth century," he writes, "we may venture pretty safely to affirm that Lollardry was *not* the beginning of modern Protestantism. Plausible as it seems to regard Wyclif as 'the morning star of the Reformation,' the figure conveys an impression which is altogether erroneous. Wyclif's real influence did not long survive his own day, and so far from Lollardry having taken any deep root among the English people, the traces of it had wholly disappeared long before the great revolution of which it is thought to be the forerunner. At all events, in the rich historical material for the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, supplied by the correspondence of the time, we look in vain for a single

indication that any such thing as a Lollard sect existed. The movement had died a natural death; from the time of Oldcastle it sank into insignificance. Though still for a while considerable in point of numbers it no longer counted among its adherents any men of note; and when another generation had passed away the serious action of civil war left no place for the crochets of fanaticism."

On a survey of the circumstances and an examination of the evidence it would appear, therefore, that the historian is bound to hold that under the first two Tudor sovereigns England was really Catholic in mind and heart. Ammonius, it is true, speaks in one of his letters of a rapid growth of religious independence among the lower and illiterate classes; but, if we except manifestations of impatience at the Pope and his *Curia*, there is little in the papers of the period to bear out this impression. On the contrary, Brewer, the best possible authority as to this, assures us that in his opinion everything proves that "the general body of the people had not as yet learned to question the established doctrines of the Church. For the most part they paid their Peterpence and heard Mass and did as their fathers had done before them."¹

This is certainly the impression made in 1500 upon the writer of the Venetian relation before referred to in regard to the general disposition of the people towards the Church. As a foreigner his testimony is particularly valuable, and he appeals to the experience of his master and the companion of his travels to confirm his impressions. His was no mere praise, for he fully saw the weak points of the character of the people he was describing.

¹ I, p. 51.

"The English," he wrote, "are great lovers of themselves and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men but themselves and no other world but England, and whenever they see a handsome foreigner they say that 'he looks like an Englishman,' or that 'it is a great pity that he should not be an Englishman.' When they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner they ask him 'Whether such a thing is made in his country.'" In these sketches of the traditional Englishman we may recognise the work of an intelligent observer. In regard to the religious practices of the people he says: "they all attend Mass every day and say many *Pater Nosters* in public. The women carry long rosaries in their hands, and any who can read take the Office of Our Lady with them, and with some companion recite it in church verse by verse in a low voice, after the manner of churchmen. On Sunday they always hear Mass in their parish church and give liberal alms, because they may not offer less than a piece of money, of which fourteen are equivalent to a golden ducat. Neither do they omit any form incumbent on good Christians."

This foreigner's assertion that the English people of the year 1500 were, as a rule, present at daily Mass may offer to some in these days merely one of those strange tales travellers proverbially tell. Some years later, however, another Venetian attached to the Embassy in London implies that the story is true and declares that each morning "at daybreak he went to Mass arm in arm with some English nobleman or other."¹ And later still, after the great change had come, one, who should have best known the common practices previously in

¹ Ven. Col., ii, 91.

vogue, holds up to ridicule the traditional observances of those who run "from altar to altar, and from sacring, as they call it, to sacring, peeping, tooting, and gazing at that thing which the priest held up in his hands . . . and saying, 'this day have I seen my Maker,' and 'I cannot be quiet except I see my Maker once a day.'"¹

To pass to another point: nothing in the history of English architecture is more remarkable than the great and increasing activity manifested during the fifteenth century. From one end of England to the other the cathedrals and parish churches furnish evidence of skill, labour, and money expended upon these sacred buildings. In spite of the civil contentions, which so long during the same period distracted the country, and which might naturally have been supposed to have paralysed all effort, it is hardly any exaggeration to say that every village church in England manifests some indication of this marvellous activity. In many cases indeed there is evidence of personal care in the smallest details. Prior Sellyng, to take but one example, in the midst of the cares incidental to the administration of a large house like Christchurch, Canterbury, and in spite of the preoccupation consequent on the student's life he led to the end of his days, is found discussing with evident pleasure and intelligence the details of the pinnacles for the great bell tower at the cathedral, for which he furnished the Archbishop with various drawings.

The fifteenth century, and the first quarter of the next, was an age of decoration which may be almost called lavish. The fondness for straight in place of flowing lines was more and more developed: groined roofs were

¹ Cranmer, *Works on the Supper*, Parker Soc., p. 229.

enriched by extra ribs and panels of tracery, and finally the keystones became pendants, and the springers branched out like palm trees, and formed the rich and entirely English variety of groin called "fan-tracery," such as we see it at Bath, Sherborne, Eton, and King's College, Cambridge. "In other respects," says a modern writer, "the architects of the fifteenth century were very successful. Few things can be seen more beautiful than the steeples of Gloucester Cathedral, or of St. Mary's, Taunton. The open roofs, as for example that of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, are superb, and finally they (*i.e.*, our forefathers of the fifteenth century) left us a large number of enormous parish churches all over the country, full of interesting furniture and decoration."¹

It is, however, not merely the universality of the movement which impelled men at this time to lavish their wealth upon the building and beautifying of God's sanctuary, and the fact that it was in many ways the best, and certainly the last, expression of Gothic as a living art, which deserves notice, but the truth that the very source of the ecclesiastical benefactions in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was different from what it had previously been. This period, as is well known, gave rise to the great middle class, and no longer, as in earlier times, were the gifts to church building and decoration contributed either wholly, or even chiefly, by the nobility. Here, as in Germany, the burgher folk, the merchants and the middle class generally, began literally to pour their gifts into a common fund from which to beautify their parish churches with a profusion which corresponds to, and is indicative of,

¹ *Encyc. Brit.*, sub verbo.

the general growth in the material comforts of life, and would seem to show that religion had in no wise lost its hold over the hearts of the people.

Those who have not given special attention to the subject cannot possibly realise how the churches throughout England, from the great cathedrals and abbey churches down to the poorest and meanest little village sanctuary, say away among the Quantock hills on the borders of Exmoor, or in the wilds of Cumberland, were simply overflowing with wealth and objects of beauty. The inventories of English churches of this period when compared, say, with those of Italy, reveal the astonishing fact that those of this country were in every way incomparably better equipped with plate, furniture and vestments. The Venetian visitor to England at the beginning of the sixteenth century was impressed by this very fact. After speaking of the sums of money regularly given to the Church and of the wealth of England generally as compared with other countries—as proved by the articles of silver plate to be found even in the houses of men of very moderate means, the writer proceeds: “But above all are their riches displayed in the church treasures, for there is not a parish church in the kingdom so mean as not to possess crucifixes, candlesticks, censers, pots, and cups of silver; nor is there a convent of mendicant friars so poor, as not to have all these same articles in silver, besides many other ornaments worthy of a cathedral church in the same metal. Your Magnificence may therefore imagine what the decorations of those enormously rich Benedictine, Carthusian and Cistercian monasteries must be. . . . I have been informed that amongst other things many of these monasteries possess unicorns’ horns of an extraordinary size. I have also been told that they

have some splendid tombs of English saints, such as St. Oswald, St. Edmund and St. Edward—all kings and martyrs. I saw one day being with your Magnificence at Westminster, a place out of London, the tomb of that saint, King Edward the Confessor, in the church of the aforesaid place, Westminster; and indeed neither St. Martin of Tours, a church in France, which I have heard is one of the richest in existence, nor anything else that I have ever seen, can be put into any comparison with it. The magnificence of the tomb of St. Thomas the martyr, Archbishop of Canterbury, surpasses all belief."

Our immediate concern, however, is not to follow this Venetian visitor in his descriptions of the wealth and wonders of art to be found in the greater churches of the kingdom, but to bespeak the reader's attention to the smaller parish and village sanctuaries. Unfortunately the documentary evidence is now only very fragmentary. Most of the papers and books dealing with the corporate life of the village which centred round the church before what a modern writer has called "The Great Pillage," have perished. Sufficient material, however, still exists to enable the student of early records to form a reliable opinion, not merely as to the state of the parish churches at this period, but also as to the part taken by the parishioners in their adornment and maintenance. An examination of such Churchwarden's Accounts as we possess is sufficient to prove that specific gifts and contributions towards the purchase of furniture, plate, and sacred vestments flowed in an ample stream to the churches from men and women of all classes. These riches and objects of beauty thus provided rendered their parish churches the pride of the country

folk, who sought to make them, so far as the humble walls would allow, the fairest places in all the land in which they dwelt.

From these records we may learn a good deal about the active and intelligent interest taken in these parish matters, which were regarded then as the common business of all. We may see, too, what a constant care it was in the daily life of the people at large. Was it the question of, say, a new vestment, and the whole parish, men and women alike, were summoned to sit in council and discuss all the details of cost and stuff and make. If, as would probably have been the case, the work was put into the hands of the best broiderer in the neighbouring town, deputations would be chosen and sent to examine, criticise, and report progress. Meantime, perhaps, individuals would be stirred up to do something on their own account for the common good, and the gifts, however simple they might have been, were long pointed out and their donors remembered. To take an example: the inventory of Cranbrook parish church for 1509 is instructive on this matter. All benefactions are regularly noted down, and the gifts, of course, vary in value: thus we find a monstrance of silver and gilt of the "value of £20 of Sir Robert Egelyonnysby's gift, which Sir Robert was John Roberts' priest thirty years and he never had other service nor benefice and the said John Roberts was father to Walter Roberts, Esquire." The foresaid Sir Robert gave also "two candlesticks of silver and twenty marks of old nobles." Again, John Hendely "gave three copes of purple velvet, whereof one is of velvet upon velvet, with tunicles of the same colour and velvet upon velvet, with images broidered," and, adds the inventory, "he is grandfather of Gervase Hendely of

Cashorn and Thomas of Cranbrook Street.”¹ Or again, we are told that “old Moder Hopper” gave the “two long candlesticks before Our Lady’s altar, fronted with lions, and a towel on the rood of Our Lady’s chancel.” In this way the parish treasury was not merely so much stock, but every article of it called forth affectionate memories of the living and dead; and on a high day or principal feast, when the church was decked out with all that was richest and finest, the display of the parish treasures recalled the memory of the good deeds done by neighbours high and low, rich and poor, to the parish at large. Dr. Jessop’s studies of the ancient parish life in England have led him to say that “the immense treasures in the churches [were] the joy and boast of every man and woman and child in England, who day by day and week by week assembled to worship in the old houses of God, which they and their fathers had built and whose every vestment and chalice and candlestick and banner, organ and bells, and picture and image, and altar and shrine they looked upon as their own, and part of their birthright.”²

The records that remain are, as before stated, the merest survival from the general wreck, but what is most remarkable about them is that they are consistent in their tenour. Where now we should never dream of looking for anything but poverty and the sordid surroundings of a hard life, taken up with daily labour for bare necessities, the wardens’ accounts frequently prove that even under such circumstances, during the period preceding the great religious changes, there existed both the power, will, and taste for things of beauty and of art.

¹ E. B.’s *Ins. Inventory Collection*, i, p. 1331 *seqq.*

² *Parish Life in England before the Great Pillage, Nineteenth Cent.*, March 1898, p. 433.

To take one example: Morebath is a small and out-of-the-way parish near the sources of the river Exe. For this village we possess fairly full accounts from 1530 to 1574, and these documents show the working of an ordinary hamlet at the very close of our period. In this poor place there were no less than eight separate accounts kept, each of moneys, etc., intended for the support of some special altar or devotion, such as the chapels of St. George and Our Lady and the guilds of the young men and of the maidens of the parish. To the "store," or capital account, of each of these there are entered numerous gifts in money or kind. The accounts, as a whole, furnish abundant evidence of voluntary rates to clear off debts or meet obligations undertaken by the community, and the spirit of self-help appears on almost every page of the accounts. When in 1534, for example, the silver chalice was stolen, "ye yong men and maydyns of ye parysshe dru themselffe together and at ther gyfts and provysyon they bought in another chalice without any charge of the parish." Sums of money, specific gifts in kind, and the stuff or ornaments used are always forthcoming to furnish the church better with vestments. Thus at one time it is a cope that is needed, and Anne Tymwell, of Hayne, gave her "gown and ring"; Joan Tymwell, a cloak and girdle; and Richard Norman, "seven sheep and three shillings and fourpence in money," towards the necessary expenses. At another time it is a set of black vestments; at another, a chalice for which, as we have seen, the young members of the flock collected the sum needed.

The truth is that the church was the centre of parish life, social as well as religious, in a way now almost inconceivable. "From the font to the grave," writes an

authority on village life at this time, "the greater number of the people lived within the sound of its bells. It provided them with all the consolations of religion and linked itself with such amusements as it did not directly supply."¹ Parish accounts show that by the influence of the community spirit disagreements between inhabitants of a parish or district, which in these days would probably lead to long and protracted lawsuits, were frequently settled by arbitration, or, in some cases, by means of a parish meeting. Moreover, documents preserved almost by chance prove that a vast number of small cases, such as disputes, brawls, minor immoralities and libels, with which now the bench of local magistrates or the Quarter Sessions would be called upon to deal, were then settled by the ecclesiastical authority. The Sunday pulpit was used not only for religious instruction, properly so called, and for the "bedes bidding," but for the publication to the community of a great variety of notices of common interest, as, for example, the proclamation of the commencement of some inquiry into a local case, or one in which local people were concerned; the citation of witnesses and of accused persons; the declaration of the probate of wills of deceased parishioners; the warning to claimants against the estate to come forward and substantiate their demands; proclamations against such as were charged with unlawfully detaining the goods of others, and those who had been guilty of defamation of character; monitions against those who having been joined in wedlock, had separated without just and approved cause. The transaction of business such as this made

¹ J. W. Cowper, *Accounts of Churchwardens of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury*.

the church a practical reality in the ordinary affairs of life, and gave it an importance which entered into the social relations of every member of every parish throughout the country.

In this connection it is useful to bear in mind a fact now so foreign to our modern conceptions. At that time the "parish" meant the whole community of a well-defined area "organised for church purposes and subject to church authority." In this district "every resident," writes Bishop Hobhouse, "was a parishioner and as such owed his duty of worship and contribution to one stated church, and his duty of confession and submission to the official guidance of a stated pastor. There was no choice allowed. The community was completely organised with a constitution which recognised the rights of the whole and of every adult member to a voice in self-government . . . when assembled for consultation under" the parish priest. Besides the church itself as a centre the wardens' accounts and other similar documents bear witness to the existence of a church-house, if not as a universal feature in parish life at least as a very common one. This was the parish club-house, the centre of parochial life and the place where the community would assemble for business and pleasure. The modes by which the church elicited the goodwill of the people were various and interesting. "After inhibiting the employment of labour on festal days, and requiring all classes, as a sacred obligation, to attend the church services," the ecclesiastical authority "busied itself in finding innocent amusements for the community, thus identifying the Holy Day with the Holiday." Each of the guilds, and few churches had none, had its festival day on which after due religious service there was held

the annual feast and money gathering, which, after all expenses, always added something to the common fund. Popular bounty was elicited by other inducements: "the names of benefactors were written on a roll, called the *bede-roll*," from which they were read out to the assembled parish on great days, and prayers were asked for the donors—"for their good estate" if living; "for the health of their soul" if dead.

In process of time most parishes became possessed of houses and lands as well as cattle of all sorts. These were let out at yearly rents, which materially assisted the common funds, and in so far diminished the necessity for voluntary contribution or compulsory rates to meet common burdens. Of these houses and lands the wardens chosen by the community at large were the official trustees. "The land," says Dr. Jessop, "usually consisted of a number of small and scattered parcels, which had been left to the community from time to time, or made over to them by well-disposed parishioners, and were sometimes held under conditions of providing for some special service in the church. Besides this it was not uncommon for a parish to be possessed of a small flock of sheep; and many parishes owned a herd of cows, usually let out to farm, and doubtless to the highest bidder. Thus . . . at Elmscote, in Essex, in 1543 there was a herd of fifteen cows let out to provide for the lights at the various altars."¹

Whilst speaking of the parish life at this period, the soul and centre of which was the church, the brotherhoods or associations known as guilds must not be forgotten. If, as has been said, "that in the old days there was no such thing as a Poor Rate, the poor in the old

¹ *Nineteenth Cent.*, March 1898, p. 434.

days having no need for any special tax or rate or tribute to insure their being kept from starvation," in some measure at least this is due to the existence of these societies, the first principle of which was the assertion of the ties of fraternity which existed amongst its members. Dr. Jessop may be allowed to speak with knowledge on this matter. The guilds, he writes, "were benefit clubs, they were savings banks, they were social unions, and, like every other association in the Middle Ages, they were *religious* bodies, so religious that they were continually building special chapels for themselves, and they had chaplains of their own who received a regular stipend. Frequently they were splendidly provided with magnificent copes and banners, and hangings and large stores of costly chalices and jewelled service books used on festive occasions in the worship of the guild chapel; and I have never met with the least indication that the guilds were at any moment other than solvent. So far from this, the guilds appear to have always had money in hand; and I suspect that in many cases they must have done some banking business on a small scale by taking care of thrifty people's savings, and by lending money in small sums on security. That is, I suspect, they did a little in the way of pawnbroking, guarding, however, against the risk of lending 'upon *usury*' by charging not for the loan of the *money*, but perhaps charging fees for the custody of the deposits on which advances were made. Be that as it may, however, it is abundantly clear that the guilds were very powerful supporters of the needs of the parish."

Mr. Thorold Rogers considered that the lands held by the guilds, probably in every village, in England were an important economical factor in the social condi-

tion of England. From the funds of these voluntary associations impoverished members could be, and were in fact, aided, and he held it to be certain "that the town and country guilds obviated pauperism in the Middle Ages, assisted in steadying the price of labour and formed a permanent centre for those associations which fulfilled the function that in more recent times trade unions have striven to satisfy." It is, indeed, curious to find in the articles of association of the various guilds, and in their account books, principles set down and in full working order, for which modern trade unions and similar societies are now contending. The rolls of accounts also prove even in regard to what must be called trade guilds, established with the specific object of protecting some business or handicraft, that neither the ordinary religious purposes of the guild or brotherhood, nor the charitable help extended to the needy were neglected.

In regard to the general care of the poor of a parish in Catholic England Bishop Hobhouse writes as follows: "I can only suppose that the brotherhood tie was so strongly realised by the community that the weaker ones were succoured by the stronger, as out of a family store. The brotherhood tie was no doubt very much stronger then, when the village community was from generation to generation so unalloyed by anything foreign, when all were knit together by one faith and one worship and close kindred; but further than this, the guild fellowships must have enhanced all the other bonds in drawing men to share their worldly goods as a common stock. Covertly, if not overtly, the guildsman bound himself to help his needy brother in sickness and age, as he expected his fellow-guildsman to do for him

in his turn of need; and these bonds, added to a far stronger sense of duty of children towards aged parents than is now found, did, I conceive, suffice for the relief of the poor, aided only by the direct almsgiving which flowed from the parsonage house, or, in favoured localities, from the doles or broken meat of a monastery." Many things in mediaeval days tended to strengthen the tie of Christian brotherhood between man and man, and the feeling found expression in works of practical charity and mutual help. Mr. Thorold Rogers, who certainly cannot be charged with bias in favour of the old system, saw this clearly. "In the age which I have attempted to describe," he says, "and in describing which I have accumulated and condensed a vast mass of unquestionable facts, the rate of production was small, the conditions of health unsatisfactory, and the duration of life short. But, on the whole, there were none of those extremes of poverty and wealth which have excited the astonishment of philanthropists, and are now exciting the indignation of workmen. The age, it is true, had its discontents, and these discontents were expressed forcibly and in a startling manner. But of poverty which perishes unheeded, of a willingness to do honest work and a lack of opportunity, there was little or none. The essence of life in England during the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors was that everyone knew his neighbour, and that everyone was his brother's keeper. My studies lead me to conclude that though there was hardship in this life, this hardship was a common lot, and that there was hope, more hope than superficial historians have conceived possible, and perhaps more variety than there is in the peasant's lot in our time."¹

¹ *Economic Interpretation of History*, p. 63.

Not the least important among works of Christian charity is the relief afforded to those in temporary necessity by means of loans. Dr. Jessop has pointed out that the guilds in a great measure fulfilled this office in regard to their members, and this is undoubtedly the case. Instances, moreover, are not wanting which show that the idea was in fact even more generally recognised as one fittingly connected with the pious objects of a parish, as a religious work. In the days of which I speak the word "religious" had a wider and, as most people will be inclined to admit, a truer signification than has obtained in later times. Religion was understood to include the exercise of the two commandments of charity—the love of God and the love of one's neighbour, and the exercises of practical charity, such as the making of loans to the needy, were considered as much religious practices as attendance at church or the taking part in an ecclesiastical procession. From this point of view it is not surprising to find that in some churches there existed a common chest under the guardianship of the parish priest and the two wardens, out of which, "for the relief of the poor of the parish," money might be lent on some security, but without charge for interest. One document¹ sets out the details for working the scheme, and in this instance the original chest and the necessary funds for starting the work of benevolence was furnished by one of the parishioners. In order to maintain "this most pious object," as it is called, the rector promises to read out the name of the original donor at the "bedes-bidding," together with all others who subsequently should be willing to add to the capital sum by alms or legacies, in order that people might be reminded to offer up

¹ Harl. MS. 670, f. 77b.

prayers for them. The three keys were to be kept by the rector and the wardens, and the borrowers were to pledge property to the full value of the loan, or else find sureties for the amount; no surety to be answerable for more than six and eightpence, and the parish priest never to be one of them. The loan was for a year, and if after that time the pledge was not redeemed, it was to be sold, and all that it would fetch over and above the amount of the original loan was to be returned to the borrower.

No adequate picture of village religious life at this time can be formed without taking into account the village plays which were so prominent a feature in almost every hamlet and town in England. These spectacles were undoubtedly a most useful help to the Church teaching, representing as they did scenes in scripture history, or events in the various ecclesiastical seasons of the Christian year. It is impossible to examine these "mystery" or "miracle" plays without being impressed by the solid instruction imparted by them, and by the way they were calculated to arouse the deepest religious feelings in the hearts of the simple people who listened to them or took part in their production. Whilst to us some of the provisions and situations may seem grotesque enough, and at times even approaching to irreverence, there is no doubt whatever that the people for whom they were designed undertook them with all the pious enthusiasm and seriousness which still characterise the representation of the Passion Play in the country districts of Germany. For the most part the performance of these religious dramas was directed by the officers of some guild, or, failing that, by the parish wardens. "So entirely was the life of the parish saturated

with religious sentiment and with religious observances," writes Dr. Jessop, "that even the most frivolous or the most boisterous amusements of the people were, directly or indirectly, under the supervision of the churchwardens." The labour of production and the services of the actors were for the most part voluntary, and the proceeds went to swell the common parish purse, or for the benefit of the poor and needy, a relief regarded as the elementary and necessary duty of every parochial society and guild. "Even those later religious guilds," writes Bishop Stubbs, "in which the first object seems at first sight, as in much of the charitable machinery of the present day, to have been the acting of mysteries and the exhibition of pageants, were organised for the relief of distress as well as for conjoint and mutual prayer. It was with this idea that men gave large estates in land to the guilds, which down to the Reformation formed an organised administration of relief."¹

One source of charitable relief of the poor in these times, the money derived from the property of the chantries, has been almost entirely overlooked. Frequently these revenues were administered by the officials of some one or other of the guilds attached to the church in which the chantry was founded. Mr. Thorold Rogers says: "The ancient tenements which still form the property of the London companies were originally burdened with Masses for donors. In the country the parochial clergy undertook the services of these chantries . . . The residue, if any, of the revenue derivable from these tenements was made the common property of the guild, and as the continuity of the service was the great

¹ *Constit. Hist. of England*, iii, 648.

object of its establishment, the donor, like the modern trustee of a life income, took care that there should be a surplus from the foundation." This is quite true, but it may be questioned whether Mr. Thorold Rogers appreciated the extent to which chantry funds were intended by the donors to be devoted to purposes other than the performance of the specified religious service. Certainly writers generally have treated the question as if chantry funds had no other object than the keeping of obits or anniversary services. This is not the case: chantry bequests were frequently arranged to give a surplus, more or less, according to circumstances, for the benefit of the poor of a parish or neighbourhood. To take only one example: attached to the parish church of Alton in Hampshire there were, in the early part of the sixteenth century, some six chantries. The founders' names are known, and the specified objects of the various chantries are clearly stated. In every single case the greater part of the revenue had to be devoted to the relief of the poor. In all, the property belonging to the six chantries brought in more than £36 annually of our money, and of that sum over £28 were for the poor; the residue only being devoted to the strictly ecclesiastical purposes connected with the anniversary services.

Moreover, very frequently, indeed, the priest or priests paid by the chantry funds were the assistants of the rector or vicar in the work of the parish. Not only were such chantry priests bound to be present on Sundays and Feast days in the choirs of the parish churches, but they were obliged very frequently by the deed of foundation to say additional Masses for the benefit of the parishioners.

In connection with the building and enriching of the

English parish churches in the fifteenth century, a process which, as we have seen, was continued up to the era of the great religious change, a few words must be said as to the decoration in the way of painting, as distinct from the furniture and vestments given to them. Just as the plate, the copes and chasubles and hangings were undoubtedly renewed and added to during this period with a lavish generosity, which manifests a general spirit of devotion, so likewise the fabrics of the parish churches during the same time were decorated with the same unstinted liberality, by benefactors corporate and individual. In screen work, for example, this Perpendicular period of Gothic art is allowed to have been the most prolific over the greatest part of England. In one county alone, Sussex, an authority in this particular matter cites as examples of rood screens still existing which were set up at this time, those of Brighton, Burton, Fletching, and Thakeham, and of chapel screens those of Playden, Rotherfield, Rye, Thakeham Warnham, and Westham. "Moreover," this authority writes, during this period the screen work was usually "enriched with gilding and painting or was 'depensiled' as the phrase runs; and many curious works of the limner's art may still be seen in the churches of Norfolk and Suffolk. In Sussex the screens of Brighton and Horsham may be cited as painted screens of beauty and merit . . . both having been thus ornamented in a profuse and costly manner, and each bore figures of saints in their panels."¹ What is true of the decoration of screen work at this time is equally true of the walls themselves; the ornamental paintings in the churches were then multiplied, and

¹ J. L. André (*Sussex Arch. Journal*, xxxix, p. 31), Chancel Screens of Parish Churches.

the pictorial art reached a higher standard. The churches very generally became not merely sanctuaries but the people's picture galleries; the paintings teaching them through the eye the Scripture History, and impressing upon their minds the great truths of religion and the chief events in the lives of the great Christian heroes. The very walls of the churches thus became in fact, what they have often been called, "The Bibles of the poor." Two examples of the ecclesiastical art of this period may be said to attest the high character of the work: the wall paintings now behind the stalls in Eton College Chapel and those in the Lady Chapel at Winchester, now unfortunately wellnigh destroyed by the whitewash with which they had been covered up for three centuries. Those who have had the opportunity of examining the former, when some years ago they were discovered on the removal of the old stall work, have testified to their excellence. So good indeed were they that it was long supposed that they must have been executed by some Italian of the Giotto school. Mr. J. Willis Clarke, however, was fortunate enough to discover the name of the painter in some old Eton accounts, and it turns out that both these and the Winchester paintings were in reality executed by an Englishman.

What has been said of painting in general applies equally to the decoration of church windows. The golden age of English stained glass, as to both richness of colour and execution, is placed, by those best able to form an opinion on the matter, between the years 1480 and 1520, and the art was still developing when it was put a stop to by the religious changes. During the previous half century many a window, even in obscure and out-of-the-way parish churches, was filled with

painted scenes from the life of Christ or with representations of His saints.

The reader's attention has so far been directed to a consideration of the attitude of the Church in Catholic England towards the great intellectual movements of the age, and to some of the external manifestations of its influence on the people at large. That this was an era of real and steady progress in the truest sense, and that the progress was, at least in great measure, initiated and fully supported and encouraged by the ecclesiastical authorities is, in view of ascertained facts, hardly open to question. So far as the pursuit of letters, known as "the humanist movement," as the cultivation of the arts of architecture and painting, or as even the beginnings of commercial prosperity, are concerned, custom has placed the renaissance altogether too late. The new life had not only commenced to manifest its power, but the movement was in full swing whilst as yet the ancient ecclesiastical system maintained to the full its supremacy over the minds and hearts of Englishmen. What Luther wrote in 1521 about the progress of the world during the previous century is as fully true in regard to England as elsewhere in Europe. "Anyone reading the chronicles," he says, "will find that since the birth of Christ there is nothing that can compare with what has happened in our world during the past hundred years. Never in any country has there been so much building, so much cultivation of the land. Never has such good drink, such abundant and delicate food, been within the reach of all. Dress has been so rich, that it is impossible it could be more so. Who has ever heard of commerce as we see it to-day? It circles the globe: it embraces the entire earth! Painting, engraving—all the arts—have progressed

and still make progress. More than all, we have men so capable and so learned that their wit penetrates everything in such a way that a youth of twenty years now knows more than twenty doctors knew in old times."

We turn now to consider briefly the moral side of the question. It has been very readily and generally assumed that the ancient Church as a whole, in the fifteenth century and during the first part of the sixteenth, will not bear examination in its moral aspect. "It was hopelessly and utterly corrupt—a very sink of iniquity" represents by no means an uncommon verdict. That there were scandals and individual cases of moral delinquency may be admitted without prejudice to the more general question. Human nature being what it is, it must be inevitable that in a Church necessarily composed of human elements there will be found at all times those whose practices do not correspond with the Christian principles they profess. The real question in regard to the Church in Catholic England is as to the system itself. It is one rather of fact than of principle. If it can be shown that this system did in fact result in wholesale moral corruption of clergy and people, and that this was tolerated or at best secretly condoned by public opinion, then such a state of things would go far to explain and excuse, even if it did not justify, as many would hold, its complete overthrow.

In regard to this question of fact no authority can be considered so satisfactory as that of the late Mr. Brewer, whose intimate knowledge of this period in our history must be admitted by everyone. Taking first the religious houses, Mr. Brewer considers that many things at this period had been detrimental to religious discipline. The civil disturbances of the Wars of the Roses

had been specially disastrous; the springs of charity which had so far supported the lesser houses had ceased to flow, and a corresponding laxity came in with poverty and a constant struggle for existence. Many of the larger houses were compelled by the circumstances of the time to admit lay inmates or keep open house for royal or episcopal nominees. In some cases abbots were forced to endow scholars of the King's nomination during their studies, or find benefices, pensions, and corrodies for royal retainers. In these and similar ways the monastic revenues were consumed and their religious character impaired. Still, taking a broad survey this is the historian's verdict: "That in so large a body of men, so widely dispersed, seated for so many centuries in the richest and fairest estates of England, for which they were mainly indebted to their own skill, perseverance, and industry, discreditable members were to be found (and what literary *chiffonnier*, raking in the scandalous annals of any profession, cannot find filth and corruption?) is likely enough; but that the corruption was either so black or so general as party spirit would have us believe, is contrary to all analogy, and is unsupported by impartial and contemporary evidence."¹

As to the more general question the same great authority is even more explicit. He warns students of history that they will miss the point of many things if they regard the world of the sixteenth century, whether in Germany or in England, as wholly and hopelessly immoral. "In fact," he says, "the sixteenth century was not a mass of moral corruption out of which life emerged by some process unknown to art or nature; it was not an addled egg cradling a living bird; quite the

¹ I, pp. 50-1.

reverse." He points out, too, that Luther's most earnest remonstrances were directed not against *bad* works, but against the stress laid upon *good* works by the advocates of the old religion. Further, that an age which can busy itself about discussions of questions about righteousness, whether of faith or works, "is not a demoralised or degenerate age. These are not the thoughts which trouble the hearts of men buried in sensuality." It is true that the awakening of minds was somewhat alarming to those who had deemed the old guides sufficient, and in their fear they cried out for a tightening of ancient bonds and a repression of the ever-rising spirit. "'*State super vias antiquas*,' cried men who looked back upon the goodly deeds of their forefathers, as Englishmen will every now and then cry out by reason of their conservative instincts; as all men naturally will cry out who have a past upon which they can and they dare look back. So the stronger went forward, and the timid stayed behind; not necessarily less earnest or less morally pure than the bolder and more advanced; for among laymen Sir Thomas More was surely as honest as Cromwell or Rich, and among churchmen Fisher was as conscientious as Cranmer."¹

It has constantly been said that the success of the great religious revolution—for whatever view we may take of the great change, it was nothing less than a revolution—was "mainly due to the purity of the morality it inculcated, or rather to the general corruption of all classes—of the clergy in particular—in the fifteenth century." Mr. Brewer declares absolutely the injustice and falsity of such an idea, warning his readers that the declamations of moralists and theologians, the

¹ I, pp. 254-5.

invectives of satirists, and even the evidence of criminal courts, are always, whether in this age or in the sixteenth century, too partial to be decisive in so grave a question. The real evidence must be looked for elsewhere, and his studies enable him to assert positively that "neither authentic documents, nor the literature and character of the times, nor, if national ethics are essentially connected with national art, its artistic tendencies warrant us in believing that the era preceding the Reformation was more corrupt than that which succeeded it. It is impossible that the clergy can have been universally immoral, and the laity have remained sound, temperate, and loyal. But if these general arguments are not sufficient," he continues, "I refer my readers to a very curious document, dated the 8th of July 1519, when a search was instituted by different commissioners, on Sunday night, in London and its suburbs, for all suspected and disorderly persons. I fear no parish in London, nor any town in the United Kingdom, of the same amount of population, would at this day pass a similar ordeal with equal credit."¹

In another place—to appeal to the same high authority—Mr. Brewer again touches upon this delicate matter. "Considering the temper of the English people," he writes, "it is not probable that immorality could have existed among the ancient clergy to the degree which the exaggeration of poets, preachers, and satirists might lead us to suppose. The existence of such corruption is not justified by authentic documents or by an impartial and broad estimate of the character and conduct of the nation before the Reformation. There is nothing more difficult than for contemporaries to form, from their own

¹ I, p. 600.

limited experience, a just estimate of the morality of the times in which they live; and if the complaints of preachers and moralists are to be accepted as authoritative on this head, there would be no difficulty in producing abundant evidence from the Reformers themselves that the abuses and enormities of their own age, under Edward VI and Elizabeth, were far greater than in the ages preceding."¹

In close connection with this subject of the laxity of morals at this period, is the question of the instructions, if any, given by the priests to their people. It has been assumed, too hastily as I think, that for all practical purposes systematic religious and moral teaching had ceased. That such instruction was ordered by the laws of the Church and that the clergy were reminded of this obligation by the provisions of many English Synods, does not admit of doubt; whilst the publication of various manuals to assist the clergy in the performance of this plain duty, in the sixteenth century, would seem to show that it was not neglected. Set sermons and ornate discourses were probably rare, but more important for the conveyance of religious and moral instruction than these were the homely talks of the parish priest with his people. There is no evidence that these were neglected to any great extent; and the fact that the English people, even in those days, were fond of listening to the voice of a preacher, would point at least to the improbability of such neglect. Moreover, one piece of evidence in the shape of the Examinations of Conscience which exist, is decisive. These are specially valuable indications of matters regarded as absolute obligations, the neglect of which was considered grave

¹ II, p. 470.

enough to make it a subject of confession. It would consequently be not at all likely that we should find set down things not regarded as obligations, or which, in the event of priests not fulfilling their part, could not be set down as against the conscience of the lay people. Yet this is what we find: "Also I have been slow in God's service and negligent to pray and for to go to the church in due time . . . loathe to hear the Word of God and the preacher of the Word of God. Neither have I imprinted it in my heart and bare it away and wrought thereafter."¹ Again: "I have been setting nought by preaching and teaching of God's word, by thinking it an idle thing,"² and, to take one more example: "If you are a priest be a true lantern to the people both in speaking and in living and faithfully doing truly all things which belong to a priest. And seek wisely the ground of truth and the true office of the priesthood and be not ruled blindly by the lewd customs of the world. Read God's law and the expositions of the holy doctors and study and learn and keep it. And when thou know'st it, preach and teach it to those that are unlearned."

We come now to the question of the general feeling of the people, in the period preceding the religious change, towards the ecclesiastical system which prevailed. Was it popular, or were Englishmen, on the contrary, restless and discontented and looking for emancipation? Without doubt here in England, as elsewhere in the Church throughout the world, many earnest men saw things that needed change, but so far as there is evidence at all on the matter, their wish was to improve, not to destroy, the system. Even to the very eve of

¹ Harl. MS. 172, f. 126.

² MS. 115, f. 51.

the change there is no sign of any desire to alter the basis of the ancient system; and even those who attacked what they considered abuses were actuated by the wish to make the edifice of the Church in Catholic England more solid, more like Christ's ideal. So far as the people were concerned the change, when it came, was, to use a familiar phrase, "like a bolt from the blue." On this point the testimony of Mr. Brewer is again conclusive. "There is no reason to suppose," he writes, "that the nation as a body was discontented with the old religion. Facts point to the opposite conclusion. Had it been so, Mary, whose attachment to the Faith of her mother was well known, would never have been permitted to mount the throne, or have found the task comparatively easy, seeing that the Reformers under Edward VI had been suffered to have their own way unchecked, and to displace from honour and influence all who opposed their religious principles. Long down into the reign of Elizabeth, according to the testimony of a modern historian, the old Faith still numbered a majority of adherents in England. . . . This rooted attachment to the old Faith, and the difficulty everywhere experienced by the government and the bishops in weaning the clergy and their flocks from their ancient tendencies, is a sufficient proof that it was not unpopular."¹

The influence of the Church in regard to clerical education was exercised in a way which could hardly fail to render it generally popular in Catholic England. The ecclesiastical body was largely recruited from those in the lower ranks of society whom either directly or indirectly the authorities had assisted to their first foot-

¹ VI, p. 470.

hold on the ladder by which they might rise to the highest ecclesiastical preferment in the land. This was the case not only in regard to the early education which they received in the cathedral and monastic schools, and in regard to the assistance bestowed by individual churchmen, but even more so in regard to university endowments. There can be no question that a large proportion of the old college revenues at Oxford and Cambridge were intended by the original donors to help poor students to receive a higher education. "The Church," says a writer by no means favourable to the system which existed before the great religious change, "The Church, as all know, was the one body in which equality of conditions was the rule from the start. There at least men of ability could rise. . . . Sixtus V was picked up out of the gutter; our Englishman, Nicholas Breakspeare, Adrian IV, was a poor labourer's son, and these are but two instances out of thousands of distinguished ecclesiastics of humble birth." Then, after speaking of the way the influence of the ecclesiastical system which prevailed in mediaeval England was ever exerted "for the people," he continues: "All this was trifling compared with the work done in the way of general education. The conventual establishments and the parish priests did far more than is commonly supposed in the direction of elementary teaching. But the higher education at the universities? Where would Oxford be to-day but for the splendid munificence of bishops, monks, and nuns? Fourteen of the finest colleges were founded by these celibate ecclesiastics and recluses for the benefit, above all, of the children of the people."

A few examples taken at haphazard may be given of

this ecclesiastical patronage of education. Richard Pace, the well-known Greek professor at Cambridge, was a poor boy in a school which Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester, had established in his own house. The boy was fond of music, and the Bishop, attracted by this sign of ability, sent him to Italy, paying for him whilst studying at Padua and Ferrara. Canterbury College, Oxford, the monastic establishment at the University connected with Christchurch, Canterbury, affords, at the period of the revival of studies in the fifteenth century and later, many examples of the help extended to youths in the prosecution of their studies. At this college there were not only the monastic students, but also some clerics and even laymen who had been sent thither by the Archbishop or the convent of Christchurch to receive free quarters at the University. In all probability Linacre, after receiving his early education at Canterbury from Sellyng the monk, was lodged at the Canterbury Oxford College; certainly the university career of the celebrated Sir Thomas More was passed there, and that he to the last retained his affection for the brethren of Canterbury is evidenced by the fact that in the height of his fame he became a "confrater" of that house, as his father, Sir John, had been before him.

In the Christchurch letter-books there are to be seen many instances of the care taken by the Prior and community to provide at the University for their *protégés*. Prior Sellyng, for instance, in the midst of all his business, writes about the clothes and money set aside for a lay student who had been sent there. We have elsewhere examples of boys educated in the Canterbury free school, being elected by the monks into the number of their community, and being thus provided with the means of a

higher education at Oxford, and given the first step in an honourable career.

The foregoing pages present, I believe, the outlines of a fairly accurate sketch of Catholic England—of that world of life and thought as it was influenced by the ancient ecclesiastical system on the eve of its overthrow. It would be impossible, however, to leave the reader under the impression that there were no shadows or clouds, and that the picture is all to be painted in rose colour. That there were drawbacks, and serious drawbacks, which contributed to bring about, if they did not actually cause, what, with Erasmus, we may call the "catastrophe," is undeniable, and to the consideration of some of these we must now briefly refer. We are here, of course, not concerned directly with the many social difficulties which at this period began to be felt by people of all classes. These were for the most part economic, and their origin is not hard to recognise. Without doubt here in England, as Jansens has shown in regard to Germany and M. Philippson and M. Hantaux in regard to France, the religious revolution was but the sequel of political and economic causes, without which, in the opinion of the last named philosophical statesman and historian, the religious questions at issue would not have been able to convulse Europe. Be this as it may, we are concerned now only with the moral aspect of the question, and not directly with such remedies for the ills which were then patent in the body politic as people who had nothing to lose were ready enough to suggest. Vicarious charity is easy; and when in the sixteenth century poverty, distress, and sickness made themselves felt in a degree hitherto not experienced, many writers and talkers were ready with

suggestions for meeting these troubles which need not be taken too seriously. The jester, for example, in More's *Utopia*, who proposed to send all the sick and aged to be cared for in monasteries and convents, may be looked on as a type of the irresponsible scribblers of that day, who need not be taken as really reflecting on the utility of monastic establishments, or other institutions of Catholic England.

It has been pointed out, on the authority of those who have the best right to speak upon the matter, that the people were not discontented with their religion as a religious system. Of course there were many things which might have been different, might have been improved in the system which had come down from the earliest times, and had grown with the growth of the nation. It might have been more active and more spiritual; but still it was a religion that appealed to the popular mind and heart. There were unquestionably dangers, not the less real because they did not lie upon the surface, or affect the true loyalty of the people at large to the ecclesiastical system under which they and their fathers had grown up. However much, for example, habit may have familiarised men's minds in those days to the idea of the principal ministers of religion, and of those on whom the government of the Church in this country depended, occupying the highest positions in the State and spending their time in civil business, the least reflection showed that this could not, at this time, be defended on any true religious principle. It was no longer a question of their doing work for their country for which no other talent was available. At the close of the fifteenth century a new class of lay officials and administrators was already in existence; yet in

practice the old system was continued, and the highest offices of the State were held by bishops and clergy. In this way men who ought to have appeared as fathers appeared almost in every other guise. They were generally, no doubt, of irreproachable character, and were possessed of real religious aspirations, but the traditional system was too strong for them, and especially when it recommended itself as one perfectly suited to the needs of the State, under kings like Henry VII and Henry VIII, who had their work in great measure done at the expense of ecclesiastical revenues. Whilst many of the bishops and other ecclesiastics were thus continually occupied in civil business, it was impossible that the people at large could really regard them as the actual pastors of their souls, responsible for each one of them. The contradiction implied in the traditional system was obviously brought to the surface in the person of Cardinal Wolsey. From his later life it is clear that he had in him the spirit of a good bishop devoted to the charge of his Church; but his career as Cardinal is the very negation of this character. And, although there may rightly be a natural disposition to regard Warham as the antithesis of Wolsey in his public character, yet, to men of the day, even Warham must have seemed as overburdened by public duties to the State, as Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England; and thus even his true ecclesiastical character, as spiritual father of his flock, cannot but have greatly suffered, for the highest spiritual duties of his office must necessarily have been delegated to subordinates.

In a similar way the position held by the superiors of the greatest monasteries in England, however imposing to the public eye, was unquestionably a distinct danger

to the interests of religion. It was clearly not their business, nor in accord with the nature of their office, to be much abroad on embassies, to be called from their houses on the reception of great potentates, or to sit in the Parliament of the realm to transact affairs of state. To the people of their neighbourhood they were known and doubtless respected; but it is obvious that all this must have tended to obscure their purely spiritual position.

Again, to turn to the very churches which should have been the model churches of the kingdom: great as was their splendour, it is nevertheless a fact that the persons who enjoyed the revenues attached to them for certain specified services in the church itself, were, broadly speaking, a body of absentees. They were engaged on almost every kind of duty except that for which their benefices had been created. What aggravated the evil was that practically these absentees formed the most powerful corporations in which the bishops should have found their most effectual counsellors and active helpers. As a fact, however, they were not merely independent of his control, but not infrequently, standing on their legal rights and inherited privileges, they set at naught his authority, and so far as they were concerned defeated his attempts at reform.

Another source of weakness in the ecclesiastical system, as it then existed, was the special faculties and powers of dispensation granted by the Roman Curia to certain bodies and individuals. This had for generations been a source of real grievance to the English Bishops, and as late as 1506 they and the clergy assembled in Convocation of Canterbury addressed a memorial to Rome on the subject. They declared that the monasteries

proper had never been known to interfere in parochial rights or in the matter of tithes; but that some, and notably the four Orders of mendicant friars, had pleaded papal privileges for many things most prejudicial to the claims of parish priests and others with ordinary jurisdiction. In face of the asserted grants the Bishops were powerless to deal with what has become a scandal, and the memorial declares that the Bishops cannot believe that what is being done is according "to the mind of the Roman See." If this state of things be allowed to continue unchecked much longer, it will, the memorialists declare, inevitably lead to the overthrow of all ecclesiastical authority, and they "the Bishops and clergy of the Province of Canterbury," assembled in Synod, "beg the Pope most earnestly to consider their complaint and to establish some remedy."

In no respect perhaps was the weakness of the then existing system more perceptible than in the legal edifice which had been gradually elaborated by the lawyers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on the basis of the Decretals. Every step in the matter of change and reform was hampered by the possibility of making legal exceptions to bar some process, and this often tired out the efforts of the most patient and persevering of prelates, till there seemed to be no longer the possibility of securing a summary process. On all sides people seemed to be hampered and bound up by a system, in itself neither ancient nor venerable, which in practice there seemed no power capable of mastering. We need not go beyond the action of the Council of Trent to see the proof of this. The Fathers of the Council dealt with the abuses by which authority had for centuries been baffled if not defied.

What at this time tended to aggravate these evils was the ever increasing tendency to centralise all practical business in Rome. The system had been built up by the legists of the preceding centuries and had resulted in establishing the Curia as the effective source of all power. As the mainspring of the entire ecclesiastical organisation, in the course of years, it had become almost impossible to initiate any movement towards improvement or reform without invoking the direct action of the Holy See. At the same time, however clearly theologians might grasp the true meaning of the position and prerogatives of the Pope as the *Pastor pastorum*, as in the case of the Bishops, many things tended to obscure this spiritual character in the minds of Christian people generally. Notwithstanding the declaration of embassies, or the high-sounding titles of official documents, or the plentiful professions of submission, these were after all formal rather than the real expression of a living connection. In the schools the papal position and powers were exposed and developed and approved on the grounds of reason, tradition, and doctrine, but in the popular mind the position of the Pope depended in the last resort on his spiritual character and prerogatives, and this precisely it was which in the papacy as it appeared to the world between the reigns of Nicholas V and Leo X, it must have been so difficult to discern in the blaze of worldly splendour and greatness with which it was surrounded.

Moreover, with the advent of new ideas came a spirit of nationality, which ran counter to the old notion that the Pope must be held in Christendom as the arbiter of kingdoms. The uprooting of the theory from men's minds was aided by the very circumstances under which

successive popes had been constructing a temporal dominion for the Holy See or their families, whereby the papacy itself became more and more invested with the character associated with the idea of a great political power. As a consequence came a natural resistance to what had so long been felt as a grievance, the constant and direct appeal to the supreme authority in Rome, and the diversion of ecclesiastical revenues to the general purposes of the Holy See. There is ample evidence that the practice was generally felt to be an evil that called aloud for remedy. Change, however, was rendered difficult, if not impossible, since the Curia was to a large extent supported upon the proceeds of these very abuses. In France the danger was averted by the Concordat between Leo X and Francis I which swept away all rights of election to ecclesiastical dignities, and vested the nomination of Bishops in the King subject to papal confirmation; which required that all appeals should be carried in the ordinary course to immediate superiors, and then only to the Holy See; which strictly limited the papal power of appointment to benefices, and was generally directed to securing the appointment of educated men to all important ecclesiastical positions, including even the pastors of the parish churches in towns. It is to this settlement of economic and administrative difficulties that so good a judge as M. Hanotaux attributes nothing less than the maintenance of the old religion in France. In his opinion, the Concordat removed in considerable measure those grievances, which elsewhere the reformers skilfully took hold of, and afforded them a plausible means for furthering their scheme of change in matters purely religious.

This indeed affected the turn of events in France, but

the means adopted, looked at in themselves, are not such as to commend themselves generally, or in all respects calculated to promote the interests of religion or the success of the Church. In England, even in the time of Henry VIII, the very character of the people would have dictated a practical settlement different in its details.

The above are some of the obvious difficulties and dangers, but the more the subject of Catholic England is examined, the more clearly will it appear that they were mere difficulties and dangers, and that the change, when it came, was not really in response to any general discontent of the people at large with the religion of their ancestors.

WOLSEY AND THE DIVORCE¹

IT is with a certain diffidence that I write on the subject of "Wolsey and the Divorce." I shall be much astonished if some do not consider it altogether too archaic and academic a subject to be popular, and if others, remembering all that has been written in the past centuries on this "thorny subject," as it was well called in the days of Fisher and More, do not conclude that all interest in the matter must long ago have been exhausted. But in reality there is much connected with the divorce of Henry VIII from his queen Katherine which still remains doubtful, whilst the unfortunate results of the English King's quarrel with the Pope, in the change of religion, affects us all too deeply to-day not to make us interested in the cause. Then, the commanding personality of Wolsey, whose name is so closely associated with the affair, exercises a fascination over the minds of most of us. Few men, indeed, have occupied a more imposing position in the pages of history than has this great Cardinal. His obscure origin; his rapid rise to place, power, and position; the wealth and magnificence with which in the days of his greatness he surrounded himself; the sumptuous buildings that he raised for his

¹ A lecture given at Notre Dame Univ., Indiana, U.S.A., October 1905.

own use, or in the accomplishment of schemes, conceived on the lines of a splendour truly regal; and then his failure, his fall, and his death in disgrace—all help to fill the imagination and to move the mind with a sense of wonder, which has added a note of mystery to the true life of the great Cardinal.

And indeed, strange as it may seem in these days, when so much has been written about Henry VIII and his doings, and in particular also about Wolsey himself, there still remains much uncertainty about many of the main facts, and even about some of the crucial points, in this reign. Nearly ninety years ago now, it is true, a writer of considerable authority declared that there were few things in history better known than the story of the divorce of Henry VIII and Katherine. Since that time greater knowledge has brought greater uncertainty as its paradoxical result. Archives have been explored, and papers from Rome, Vienna, Venice, Brussels, Simancas, and elsewhere, which have been brought together, and confronted with the documents preserved in the English Record Office, have helped to fill up lacunae or to interpret obscurities in the old story. Hence it comes to pass that, although we are not so sure of our judgments as Hallam was, we can be quite certain that the history of the "Divorce" which satisfied him will never be told again.

What the exact story is, and how far Cardinal Wolsey was really responsible for starting the question which has had such disastrous and lasting results, is not yet quite obvious. Dr. Gairdner, the editor of Henry's State Papers, does not hesitate—or, I should say, did not hesitate in 1896—to write: "The story of Henry VIII's divorce from Katherine of Aragon has not yet been fully unravelled." Although much has been done, much more

remains undone. The great, and in fact monumental, *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, for the reign of Henry VIII, commenced by Mr. Brewer, and still being continued by his assistant and successor, the present Dr. James Gairdner, has brought together most of the results of researches in the archives at home and abroad. So far as it goes, it is an index to, and epitome of, the State papers of the time, such as, in the competent opinion of Dr. Pauli, no other country possesses in so complete a form for any period. Still these volumes furnish merely the material for the study of the great questions which arise during this reign; and, even with the admirable introductions furnished by the editor, they do not dispense with the necessity of consulting other sources of information in order that the exact truth may be elicited.

What has so far been done? Dr. Gairdner thus gives what in his opinion is the present state of the case: "No other English pen during these twenty years [has] done anything to complete Brewer's work, or correct his errors. The late Mr. Froude, no doubt as everyone knows, made a lamentable attempt in 1891 to show that some of the new evidences, which had come out since he wrote his *History*, essentially confirmed the view which he had taken of the matter forty years before. But the public, which were not convinced by his *History*, do not seem to have been much impressed with a work of which the sophistries were sufficiently apparent, even though the innumerable errors of fact were uncorrected. Nor can it be said that Mrs. Hope's posthumous work supplies anything like the thorough investigation that is wanted, though it may pass muster as a popular account of the matter."

Like Mr. Brewer, Dr. Gairdner holds that most certainly Wolsey did not originate the project of the divorce, nor first put the idea into Henry's head. He says such a notion "is not only absurd on the face of it, but is opposed to all the real evidence that we possess upon the subject." It is with great diffidence that I differ from the verdict of Dr. Gairdner, but to me the matter is by no means so clear. Mr. Brewer, in his work on the reign of Henry VIII, says that there are three chief explanations of the origin of the divorce proceedings. First, that the scruples arose in Henry's own conscience and were the result of the grief caused by the failure of male heirs from his union with Katherine; secondly, that the whole idea of obtaining a divorce, and of thus being able to marry again, came from the fact of Henry's passion for Anne Boleyn; and thirdly, that it was suggested by Anne's friends with the idea of being able to introduce the new Lutheran doctrines into England with the help of a breach with Rome, if the marriage were not dissolved by the Holy See, or with Henry married to Anne, if it were.

The fourth explanation, which makes Wolsey the author, was rejected by Mr. Brewer thirty years ago as not worth consideration; and in this he is still followed, as I have said, by Dr. Gairdner. The point of their negation is this: The report reflecting on the character of Wolsey was really at a late period set about by Tynedale and Roper for their own purposes. It is contradicted by all who knew best at the time—by Bishop Longland and by the Cardinal himself. Cavendish, indeed, reports Wolsey as saying, apparently with regard to this very matter, that he had often "knelt before the King for hours to make him change his purpose, but could not

move him." Sanders, almost a contemporary, on the other hand, says that Wolsey on one occasion confessed before the King and the Council that he, and no other, had been the author of the business. But this was intended obviously to cover others, and Sanders says that "this remark was addressed specially to the King's ears."

On the other side, however, Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, never denied that Wolsey was the original mover in the matter. When he saw that England was drifting toward Lutheranism on account of his part in the unfortunate divorce proceedings, he regretted what he had done, and denied that either he or the Cardinal was primarily responsible. Draycott, the Chancellor of his diocese, conveyed the Bishop's denial to Nicholas Harpsfield. But this does not seem to have convinced the latter; for he subsequently wrote that Wolsey, "first by himself or by John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln and the King's confessor, putt this scruple and doubt into his [Henry's] head. At the first hearing whereof the King, somewhat astonished, held his peace awhile, not a little marvelling at this matter so moved unto him. At length he answered thus: 'Take heed, I beseech you, Reverend Father, and well consider what a great and weighty enterprise you take now in hand.' . . . After a few days the Cardinal assaulted the King afresh, and with much more vehemency, being with him the said Bishop of Lincoln . . . Thus say some of the Bishop of Lincoln, though himself (as we have shewed) denied that he was one of the first movers of this matter."¹

As to the testimony of Cavendish, it is difficult to place any reliance upon it in respect to the Cardinal's part in the matter. Indeed, a good deal of

¹ *The Pretended Divorce*, ed. Camden Soc., pp. 175-6.

the confusion which has entered into the divorce question may be said to arise from Cavendish's inaccuracies, and it is by no means certain that the passage which is supposed to show that Wolsey did his best to turn his royal master from his intention really relates to the question of the divorce at all. It would rather fit in more exactly with the Cardinal's endeavour to prevent the alliance with Anne Boleyn, which he was only too anxious to do, not only because he considered it unfortunate from the point of view of statecraft, but because he must have known, as Harpsfield declares, that Henry had already had immoral relations with Anne's sister Mary, and, if report spoke truly, with her mother also.

Be that as it may, the weight of contemporary evidence as to the complicity of Wolsey is overwhelming. I say nothing of the testimony of the historian Polydore Vergil; for he was an undoubted enemy of the great Cardinal, and because, from a discovery I made some years ago in the Vatican library, it is now known that the passage incriminating Wolsey was not in the original draft of his *History*. Nor can we lay stress on the Paris diarist and the Belgian Macquerian, except as to the existence of contemporary rumours. But against him we have the direct testimony of Paul Jorius, a prelate at the court of Pope Clement; and of Guicciardini, who was closely connected with Casale, the royal agent. We know, too, what Queen Katherine herself thought. She may have been wrong, no doubt; but there can be no question what she thought. She wrote to the Emperor Charles that Wolsey was the real author of all her misfortune and misery, and the Emperor proclaimed it as a fact everywhere.

A writer in the *English Quarterly Review* in 1877 has well stated some interesting facts about the tradition among English Catholics as to Wolsey's culpability. He points out that if, as a body, they had any bias, it would have been in favour of attributing all their misfortunes to Henry's unclean passion for Anne Boleyn. But as a fact, there is a strong consensus of opinion finding in Wolsey the origin of the divorce—the *fons et origo omnium malorum*. Pole, indeed, had given an example of the controversial use of Anne Boleyn's name, by dwelling on all the troubles which were consequent upon the guilty loves of the King and his Queen's waiting-woman.

As against this, some maintained that the project of a divorce originated from causes quite independent of the royal passion for Anne. No doubt this was the opinion of Wolsey himself, who could not have known that the King was inditing ardent love epistles to her, declaring that he had been smitten with the dart of love for a whole year, and promising if she would only yield to him, to make her his sole mistress and renounce all others. "What kind of honour he designed for her by this may, indeed, be a question," says Dr. Gairdner; "but, in point of fact, Anne was not to be obtained so cheaply as he, perhaps, believed." No doubt, neither Wolsey nor any one else then in England could have believed that Henry desired to divorce the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain in order to marry into the Boleyn family. And, we may add, there is really no evidence whatever that Henry contemplated any such thing himself when the divorce proceedings were initiated. It is quite certain that Wolsey had other designs for Henry if he should obtain his freedom from Katherine, and

matters had gone very far before he even suspected the real current of the King's intentions.

The Catholic tradition, then, from the first, undoubtedly pointed to Wolsey as the originator of the divorce proceedings. Harpsfield, the friend of Warham and Roper and Rastall, as well as of the family of Sir Thomas More, and, as has been said, the intimate of a circle of people "in whom were concentrated the best Catholic traditions," had no doubt on this point. Sir Richard Shelley, the son of a judge, wrote an account of the divorce, which is still extant in manuscript. He attributes all the blame to Wolsey. Nicholas Sander, the Catholic writer, incorporated in his account of the "Schism," much from works of Rastall and Hilliard, which are not now forthcoming, but which we cannot doubt implicated the Cardinal. And, lastly, the writer in the *Quarterly Review*, named above, states that the same is the verdict of Richard Hall, who wrote the life of the martyred Bishop Fisher. Hall had his information from Phillips, the last Prior of the Benedictine cathedral priory of Rochester, who had sat in the Convocation of 1529; and from Thomas Harding, who had been chaplain to Stokesley, Bishop of London. William Forest, who was a contemporary, and who became chaplain to Queen Mary, agrees with Harpsfield and Shelley and Hall.

From all the evidence that is now procurable, then, it seems to me that Shakespeare has stated the position most correctly when he puts into the mouths of his characters the following:

CHAMBERLAIN.

It seems the marriage with his brother's wife
Has crept too near his conscience.

SUFFOLK.

No: his conscience
Has crept too near another lady.

NORFOLK.

'Tis so.

This is the Cardinal's doing,—the King Cardinal;
That blind priest, like the eldest son of fortune,
Turns what he lists. The King will know him one day.

SUFFOLK.

Pray God he do! He'll never know himself else.

NORFOLK.

How holily he works in all his business!
And with what zeal! For now he has crack'd the league
Between us and the Emperor, the Queen's great-nephew—
He dives into the King's soul; and there scatters
Dangers, doubts, wringing of the conscience,
Fears, and despairs, and all these for his marriage;
And, out of all these to restore the King,
He counsels a divorce: a loss of her
That, like a jewel, has hung twenty years
About his neck, yet never lost her lustre.

According to Shakespeare, too, Queen Katherine's opinion as to the culpability of Wolsey in first moving the question of the divorce is certain. For example, the following:

WOLSEY.

Be patient yet.

QUEEN KATHERINE.

I will, when you are humble; nay, before,
Or God will punish me. I do believe,
Induced by potent circumstances, that
You are mine enemy; and make my challenge,
You shall not be my judge; for it is you
Have blown this coal betwixt my lord and me.

But, after all, the question whether or not the idea of the divorce first came from the all-powerful Cardinal is comparatively unimportant; it is of academic rather

than of real interest in the question. Those who are so anxious to clear Wolsey's honour of this stain forget that his memory must ever be burdened with heavier charges. It is impossible, however, not to admire the restraint with which Mr. Brewer speaks of a Roman priest and a Cardinal, and how his admiration for the great statesman tries to soften the hostile verdict that many of his acts would certainly call for. As Lord Acton has said: "For Wolsey, as a minister of tyranny, as a pensioner of foreign potentates, as a priest of immoral life, he has extreme indulgence. The Cardinal attempted to obtain from Parliament a declaration that all things in the land belonged to the Crown—a doctrine which from the day in which Frederic Barbarossa consulted the jurists of Bologna, until Louis XIV caused it to be sanctioned by the divines of the Sorbonne, has been the symbol of despotic power. At the moment when he (the Cardinal) broke off the English alliance with the House of Burgundy and sought the friendship of France, he had for four years been denied his pension by the Power he had abandoned, whilst he required from the Power that he joined a sum equal in our money to £285,000."

So much with regard to Wolsey's particular share in initiating the divorce question. We may now turn to the question itself, and to a consideration of the peculiar circumstances of the times in which it became *the* question of the hour. The failure of the English policy in France was set down against Wolsey. Shakespeare has no doubt as to this:

NORFOLK.

France hath flam'd the league and hath attacked
Our merchants' goods at Bordeaux. . . .

BUCKINGHAM.

Why, all this business
Our reverend Cardinal carried.

Shakespeare's estimate of the way in which Henry's powerful minister was hated in England is hardly overdrawn. The suspicions at this time, voiced in the play by Buckingham, that Wolsey had been working for his own hand, and looking in the first place to his personal interests, were commonly entertained by the people at large. If we ask ourselves how it was that Wolsey withstood the shock of political failure, and, in spite of all, for a time at least retained his position, we must certainly confess that it was through the inopportune introduction of the divorce question that he was able to do so. Let us understand the situation. An important change had come over the domestic life of King Henry. Katherine of Aragon was now past forty years of age, and, even for a southerner, was prematurely old.¹ All hopes of a son and heir to the crown were at an end, and Mary appeared destined to be the sole issue of the marriage. Henry, a man of strong if not ungovernable passions, had been estranged from his Queen since 1524, and even longer. This is hardly recognised, but Campeggio, after having heard her confession, at her request, says that the estrangement had lasted *gia molti anni*—"for many years."

The state of the succession was a matter of grave anxiety. What would happen on the death of Henry? The English nation had had no experience of the ruling of a woman. The safety of the Tudors was in the certainty of the succession; and the knowledge that Katherine

¹ This passage is adapted from the *Quarterly Review*, January 1877.

could have no son revived men's fears. The memory of the havoc wrought during the long civil wars was still fresh and filled minds with dread of their possible renewal; and "the murders in the royal house, which in seven preceding reigns had seven times determined the succession," came up as ghosts to convey warnings of what might be again.

Could a Queen reign? This was a question to which no one was competent to offer a solution. If she could, then Henry VII, who had no hereditary right except through his mother, who survived him, was never the rightful King. The fact is that "until the birth of Elizabeth no law of the land enabled a woman to wear the crown; no example justified it." Even in Katherine's own marriage contract, whilst it was provided that the crown should descend to her sons, no such provision was made for the daughters, and it was quite uncertain whether Mary's right to succeed to her father would be unchallenged at his death.

It is necessary to bear all this in mind when considering the first beginnings of the "thorny question of the divorce," as it has been well called. Obvious practical reasons existed against Katherine's marriage and in favour of the divorce, if they could be justified by law and equity. In fact, as has been said, "no man's marriage was exposed to more obvious objection." Notwithstanding this, up to 1527, so far as there is evidence, the idea of such a contingency had occupied Henry's mind only in a languid sort of way. "Neither aversion for the Queen nor desire of an heir nor religious scruple caused him to pursue it with any fixed determination." Brewer, indeed, has supposed that there was a distinct allusion to the question in a letter written in 1526 by

Clerk, Bishop of Bath, in which he declares that "there will be great difficulty *circa istud benedictum divortium*." But Dr. Eshers, whose researches into the whole question among the papers of the Vatican have thrown so much light upon many obscurities in it, has shown that this remark refers to a proposed divorce of Francis of France and the Emperor's sister Eleanor, so that he might marry the Princess Mary.

In 1527 Henry determined to pursue the question of his divorce to the end. Early in that year Anne Boleyn returned to England, and at Court she attracted the notice of the King. She encouraged his attentions, but made it quite clear that she would do nothing more for his pleasure until he should be in a position to make her his wife. Wolsey was not at the time aware of her influence, and we may take it for granted did not attribute the King's determination to obtain a divorce to this motive. Henry had long led an immoral life, which was well known, and the Cardinal seems to have thought that his royal master was only acting towards Anne as he had been in the habit of doing with others of the Queen's ladies.

On 17th May 1527 the first formal step in the cause of the divorce was taken. Wolsey summoned the King to appear before his Legatine Court to answer to the charge of living unlawfully in the married state with his brother's widow. This was a secret proceeding, and much of it was probably occupied with considering how the question could be raised decently. At any rate, it was planned that Henry should attribute his scruples of mind to a doubt as to the Princess Mary's legitimacy, expressed by the Bishop of Tarbes, the French Ambassador, who had come to England in the spring of this

year to negotiate her marriage with the King of France. There is no evidence whatever that the Bishop had expressed any such doubt, but Henry was an adept in putting responsibility upon others.

It was proposed to keep the Queen in entire ignorance of these secret proceedings in the Legatine Court; but she heard of them and informed the Spanish Ambassador. In May, whilst the secret Court (which must be held to reflect indelible disgrace upon both Wolsey and his royal master) was still sitting, the Imperial Ambassador reports what would be the effect of the publication of the news: "The Queen is so beloved throughout the country, that at any time so iniquitous a transaction would have caused general excitement; and now, coupled with the disaffection caused by these reports of war [against the Emperor], it would give a double motive for rebellion."

No word was said to the Queen until the 22nd of June, when Henry told her of his scruples and of the proposed inquiry. He tried to pacify her by assuring her that the whole object of the inquiry was not to procure a divorce, but to remove all doubt of Mary's legitimacy. To carry out Wolsey's advice—to treat Katherine "gently and doulcely"—the King paid her another visit on the 22nd of July. He acted his part so well that her suspicions were removed.

Out of these two visits, however, came an important issue, for which Wolsey at least was apparently not prepared. Granting that there were serious objections even to a papal dispensation for marrying a deceased brother's wife, Katherine still maintained that this had no application in her case, since she had been Arthur's wife in name only, their marriage never having been consummated.

This evidently for a time brought little less than consternation to the mind of Wolsey. For days there were consultations and constant messages passing between the Cardinal and his royal master; and in the end Wolsey gave it as his opinion that even if the impediment of affinity had not been contracted by actual marriage, still, since Arthur and Katherine had been married *in faciem ecclesiae* (publicly), the impediment *publicae honestatis* (public honesty) existed, for which he believed that the dispensation obtained before Henry's marriage was insufficient.

Wolsey thus stood fully committed to the King's "matter" when at the beginning of July he started on an embassy to France. Passing through Rochester on his way to the coast, the Cardinal determined to sound Bishop Fisher as to his knowledge of Henry's intentions. The Bishop had heard merely a rumour of a proposal for a divorce, but knew nothing for certain. The Cardinal thereupon told him positively that Henry had no such designs, and in the strictest confidence informed him that all the King wished to do was to prove the legitimacy of his union with Queen Katherine, since the legitimacy of the Princess Mary had been called in question by the Bishop of Tarbes. A rumour of the necessary inquiries having reached the ears of the Queen, he said she had become alarmed, and had insinuated that he, Wolsey, was trying to promote a divorce between them, which was of course untrue.

Fisher was completely taken in by this explanation, and declared his intention to speak to the Queen about her suspicions and impetuosity; but allowed himself to be persuaded not to do so. We have every reason for believing that Archbishop Warham, who had allowed himself to act

as assessor to Wolsey in the secret inquiry, was also deceived by the Cardinal's representations as to the real intention of Henry. He, too, with all simplicity accepted the story of the Bishop of Tarbes' reflection on Mary's legitimacy, and the King's desire to set the matter right.

Wolsey returned to England at the end of September 1527, to find that his position in the kingdom was not so secure as he imagined. Whilst he had been revelling in his fancied greatness in France, the ground was in reality giving way beneath his feet. He had expected to be received by the King with extraordinary honours, but in his absence matters had changed at the English court to his disadvantage. He found Anne Boleyn closeted with the King, and learned that it was really at her summons he had been bidden to this interview.

Henry met him without reserve, and forthwith told him what was indeed now in everyone's mouth, but what the Cardinal could not bring himself to credit—namely, that he intended to marry Anne. On his knees Wolsey besought his master to give up this design, but all his arguments fell upon deaf ears. Then, seeing that remonstrances were fruitless, Wolsey, though he was Papal Legate, Cardinal, Archbishop, and priest, elected to pay his court to Anne, and gave a splendid banquet at his archiepiscopal palace to the lady and her royal paramour. "It would have been well," writes Dr. Gairdner, "if, on this discovery, he could have thrown off responsibility for the whole business and left it to other agents who were deeper in the King's confidence." But this is just what was impossible, if he would keep even for a time his ascendancy over a nobility who had long regarded him with feelings of jealousy and hatred. And, as the same authority remarks, "Wolsey's *fall* seemed but too

likely to lead to his execution." He of all men knew that failure meant death.

From this time, therefore, Wolsey, against his better judgment—and shall we say his conscience?—was engaged in a desperate attempt to regain his ascendancy over Henry by lending himself to the promotion of what the King willed. "It was hopeless now to offer direct resistance; it was dangerous even to show lukewarmness. Discerning persons, like Cardinal Campeggio, were convinced long afterwards that the cause to which he seemed devoted was altogether distasteful; but he saw no safety for himself except in appearing to be its very earnest advocate."

Notwithstanding his apparently submissive attitude, Henry did not trust the Cardinal. And it was soon made clear to Wolsey that the royal agents were working for something that was being kept a secret from him. It was not long before he found out that they were asking for permission for the King to marry Anne Boleyn, whether he was actually married to Katherine or not. In other words, the royal proposal was that the Pope should give him a licence for bigamy, "which would save a world of trouble," as one of the agents put it. To secure this, Knight, the King's agent with the Pope, offered the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* 2,000 crowns, which was, however, refused. Failing this, Henry asked for a dispensation to marry one with whom he had already contracted affinity in the first degree, through illicit intercourse; this dispensation to be effective only if the King's marriage with Katherine was set aside.

A very important letter from Henry to his agent Knight (first printed in the *Academy* of 17th March 1879, from the original in Corpus Christi College, Ox-

ford) helps us to understand that the King felt obliged by the remonstrances of Wolsey to cancel his instructions in regard to the dispensation to commit bigamy; but he suggested another possible Brief, about which, according to this letter, the Cardinal was to be kept in complete ignorance. This was to include a dispensation from the impediment of affinity, asked for with the proviso that the King's marriage should be declared null. To Wolsey, with his knowledge of statecraft, it would have appeared the most fatal piece of diplomacy to ask for the dispensation before the first marriage had been declared invalid, as it disclosed reasons other than those of a lawful character for endeavouring to secure a judgment against the union with Katherine. Notwithstanding this, however, Knight really obtained from Clement VII, at Orvieto, on 17th December 1527, a Bull, which, without naming Anne, granted the dispensation, in case the first marriage could be dissolved in a legal manner.

"At this stage," says Dr. Gairdner, "it must be remarked that there was no intention of disputing the Pope's dispensing power in cases like that of a deceased brother's wife. On the contrary, Henry had just applied for a dispensation to deal with a similar case of affinity, only not so respectable." The question he wished to raise was, whether the dispensation of Julius II, under which he had married Katherine, could be impugned and invalidated on some technical grounds, which did not, it may be observed, rest on any supposed divine law or Scriptural prohibition. In fact, the five grounds for invalidating the dispensation advanced at this stage of the proceedings are sufficiently foolish, and the reasons are flimsy in the extreme. As given by Dr. Eshers, they are:

First, that Henry desired the marriage,—which was not true; for he never asked for it, or knew of the obtaining of the dispensation.

Second, that the marriage was contracted for the sake of preserving peace and alliance—an insufficient reason, especially as there had been no war, and there was no danger of one at the time.

Third, that Henry was only twelve years old when the dispensation was obtained, and therefore not of lawful age.

Fourth, that some of the persons named in the Bull were dead before it was put in force, and therefore the document must have been surreptitious.

Fifth, that Henry, on reaching the age of fourteen, had made a protestation that he would not marry Katherine, by which the previous dispensation was rendered null, and a subsequent marriage was not valid without a new one.

On these it is only necessary to remark that the last, which perplexed the authorities at the Curia, was no objection, since the protestation was caused by Henry VII's wish to evade a treaty obligation, and to defer the marriage until the dower of the princess was in England.

It is wholly unnecessary to enter into the details of the embassies to the Pope by which the King and Wolsey sought to obtain what they wished. The treatment accorded to Clement VII by the English agents—especially, I am sorry to say, by Gardiner—is one of the most humiliating episodes of this wholly sordid business. No doubt it would have been better for all concerned if the Pope had been more decided, and had sooner made up his mind to some one course; but this vacillation can

furnish no excuse for the language of the royal agents and their overbearing attitude toward the unfortunate Pontiff. Their first efforts were exerted to procure from the Holy See "a decretal commission" addressed to Wolsey; in other words, to give him full authority to hear and determine the case.

On Friday the 3rd of April 1528 Gardiner, Fox, and Gregory Casale, the English agents, were summoned into the presence of the Pope to hear his decision on this point. It was to this effect. The reasons for granting a divorce were not so clear and manifestly just that the Pope could in justice to the other party give sentence without hearing that side. Nor could he give a decretal commission, which hereafter might be a common law binding the whole world. But he offered a *general* commission to try the case, with a promise that its sentence would be confirmed. After an unseemly struggle, the English agents were bound to accept this solution, and Wolsey and Campeggio were ultimately named as the commissioners to hear and determine the cause.

Although the matter dragged on for six years, during all that time and amid ever-varying incidents, no new legal or practical point was raised. Henry's motive for demanding a divorce was known and acknowledged; so were the grounds upon which he asked for it. The position of the Pope was clear. He had already declared that these grounds were insufficient in law; and, as no other grounds were ever brought forward (none really existed), his final sentence was already foreshadowed, should appeal, in the turn of events, be made to him to decide the question. Meanwhile the first commission, which was issued to Wolsey and Campeggio on 13th April 1528, could not be acted upon; and on 8th June

there was granted a second, of precisely the same tenour as the previous one. The two Cardinals were to inquire into all the facts bearing upon the validity of Pope Julius' dispensation, and to pronounce sentence. If Henry's marriage should be found to be null and void, they were nevertheless empowered to declare the offspring of the marriage, and of any second marriage, equally legitimate.

Gardiner, upon obtaining the original commission, forthwith despatched Fox, his fellow agent, to England. The latter arrived at Greenwich on the afternoon of 2nd May 1528, and was directed by the King to go at once to "Mrs. Anne's chamber" and declare his news. Henry quickly joined him there; and, although the agent had to report a failure to obtain the desired decretal commission, what he had got was sufficient to fill the hearts of the King and his mistress with great joy.

From Greenwich Fox repaired to Wolsey, whose reception was not so hearty as that accorded to him at court. The Cardinal was ill satisfied and perplexed; for it seemed to him that the commission might lead to useless difficulties and dangers. The next day he had the papers read in the presence of Lord Rochford, Anne's father, and seemed more satisfied. "But," says Dr. Gairdner, "it is clear that he was only making the best of the existing situation, and that the question for him now was how long he could stave off ruin."

It was, indeed, a critical situation in which the great Cardinal now found himself. The commission, on being studied by the jurists, was not what Wolsey had hoped to obtain. It did not limit the inquiry to the points set out by the Cardinal, and it made no change in law of the

Church as to marriage. On the contrary, it directed that the validity of Julius' dispensation should be determined according to the existing laws. And, worse than anything, the lawyers pointed out that the words *juris latio* gave the Queen the right to appeal to the Pope, notwithstanding the final clause to which Gardiner and Fox had ignorantly attached undue value.

Wolsey did not, however, make the King acquainted with his fears, but, on the contrary, flattered him with words about the justice of his case. At the same time, however, he wrote to Gardiner, telling him to consult with learned men in Italy how best to defeat the Pope's intention of trying the case according to law and justice. He instructed the agent still to endeavour, by all means in his power, to obtain the decretal, in the form already demanded, authorising him to swear *in animam suam* that he would not show it to any one except the King; though in the same letter he explained to Gardiner how useful such a document would be to show to those who were opponents of the King's divorce, in order to convince them that their case was hopeless.

The Pope at first promised; and then, being convinced that such a document would be unlawful, retracted his word. Wolsey pleaded earnestly that his own life was really in danger; and, finally, Clement sent by Campeggio some form of a decretal, which was to be shown to the King and the Cardinal and then to be burned immediately. All trace of this document has disappeared, and it is now impossible to say what it really contained; but it is obvious that it could not have been any declaration of the nullity of Henry's marriage, as the King afterwards pretended; nor was it anything which put any stop to the trial before the Legates.

In the meantime, whilst matters were in suspense, the King was making little secret of his intentions in regard to Anne. His *liaison* with her became public property, and he frequently wrote to her letters couched in gross and passionate terms, which throw a slur on her modesty and virtue, and leave no doubt as to the guilty nature of their connection. Under Henry's personal supervision, magnificent apartments were fitted up for her, where courtiers worshipping the rising sun paid her more attention than they had been wont for a long time to show to the Queen herself.

Campeggio, delayed by illness, did not reach Paris on his way to England until the middle of September 1528. He made no secret about the principles that were to guide him. Much to the surprise of Francis, he declared that, in the first place, his mission was to try to get Henry to change his mind and abandon the proceedings; but if that were found to be impossible, the result of the inquiry into the marriage must depend upon the evidence; and that the only thing certain in the matter was that there should be no failure of justice. In order to keep his hands clean, he refused the repeated offers of the English agents to supply him with money; and this attitude he maintained during all his stay in England.

On his arrival in London, Campeggio was again suffering from the gout; but Henry was so impatient at the unlooked-for delays that on the very day of the Cardinal's taking up his abode at Bath Place, Wolsey was sent to interview him, returning on several successive days to continue the conference. At the end of all these meetings, Campeggio reported to the Pope: "I have had no more success in persuading the Cardinal than if I had spoken to a rock."

On 23rd October the King came privately to see the Legate, and remained with him four hours. Campeggio began by exhorting him to give up the idea of a divorce, and offered him a fresh dispensation confirming his marriage with Katherine. Henry at once refused this, and in so positive a manner that Campeggio informed the Pope after the interview: "I believe if an angel descended from heaven, he would not be able to persuade his Majesty to the contrary."

The two Cardinals visited the Queen two or three times, in the hopes of being able to induce her to retire into a convent and not press the question to trial. Katherine refused absolutely to have anything but a fair and just trial of the matter at issue. Both Henry and Wolsey were disappointed in the Legate. They had expected to have some one who would be a pliant tool in their hands, whereas Campeggio was wholly incorruptible, and kept his judgment free. He was quite willing to urge the Queen to sacrifice herself for the sake of the general interests concerned, but he was determined not to overstep the bounds of law and justice. Wolsey's consternation reached its height when Campeggio informed him that by his instructions, after concluding the inquiry into the validity of the King's marriage, he was obliged to lay his conclusions before the Pope and wait further orders prior to passing sentence.

Wolsey now thought by delay to obtain further powers from the Pope, and he demanded permission to show the secret decretal Bull to some members of the Council. In fact, he told his agent to pretend that the Pope had promised to allow this. Clement VII, on hearing this flat falsehood, declared that it was obvious that Wolsey was deceiving him. He had asked, he said, for a Bull to

be shown only to the King; and it had been granted in order to save his [Wolsey's] life, which he had declared was really in danger. On the agent's pressing the Cardinal's request, the Pope manifested anger and forbade him to refer to the subject again.

This having failed, messengers were despatched from England with instructions to make fresh efforts to obtain something that could be satisfactorily substituted for the very uncertain inquiry now pending in England. The instructions now given are so astounding that, unless an original copy of them existed, they could hardly be credited. First, they were to try again to procure the decretal commission, more than once before refused by the Pope. If this failed, they were to try to get the Pope to recall the cause to Rome, after he had signed a written promise that within two or three months he would give sentence in the King's favour. If this also was found to be impossible, then they were to ask the Pope "out of the fulness of his power," to declare the King's marriage null and to authorise him to take another wife; or, finally, to give him permission to have two wives at once, or to take another wife if the Queen could be induced to enter a convent. After the usual interviews with the Pope, and repeated attempts to coerce him into compliance, with which methods he was only too familiar, the agents were forced to write to say that they could do nothing with him.

Circumstances showed Wolsey that further delay in the opening of the Legatine Court would be perilous. He made one more attempt, however, to secure enlarged powers for the Legates; in other words, the Pope was to be asked to be a party to Wolsey's acting the part of the unjust judge; and further, the agents were to

secure a positive promise that the Pope would not permit any appeal to Rome, but would at once confirm the finding of the Legates. This concession he endeavoured to obtain by a series of falsehoods which his agents were instructed to tell the Pope, and which were backed up by the usual threats. But by this time Clement had evidently fathomed Wolsey's character, and he refused to fall into the trap. On 31st May 1529, he wrote both to Henry and Wolsey, telling them plainly he could not act as they wished him to do.

It is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of the Legatine Court, which sat to try this celebrated "divorce" case. Its proceedings are clear and straightforward when compared with the tangled negotiations which preceded them. At the end of May, in the year 1529, the Legates obtained the King's sanction to proceed, and they summoned the King and Queen to appear before them on Friday, the 18th of June. A couple of days before this, the Queen signed a formal appeal to the Pope, and a protest against the Legates as judges, which she presented when summoned on the 18th. On the 21st the Legates decided against Katherine's appeal; and she, after a protest, and her celebrated appeal to Henry's honour and affection as a husband, left the court and took no further part in the proceedings.

When, on 10th July 1529, the news arrived that the Queen's appeal to the Holy See had been rejected, and that she had been pronounced contumacious, the Pope made up his mind to recall the case to Rome; and, in a Consistory on 23rd July, he issued a Bull terminating the proceedings in England and removing the cause into the Curia. Meanwhile in England the King's party were doing all they could to hurry on a decision; and,

had it not been for the firmness of Campeggio, this would have been taken before the arrival of the papal Bull recalling the cause to Rome.

A decision of the Court was looked for on 22nd July. But at the critical moment the Legate declared that he would not be hurried; that, having been a lawyer and one of the twelve judges of the Rota, he knew that in cases of importance thirty days were allowed between hearing the cause and judgment. For his part, he was resolved "not to proceed in haste, but slowly and safely, as befitted so grave a question."¹ Finally, he let it be understood that the Roman custom required the Court to be closed from the end of July to the 4th of October. This closed the suit in England; for shortly afterward the Queen received the papal letters withdrawing the powers of the legates and citing her and the King to plead the cause before the Court of the Rota in Rome.

With the closing of the Legatine Court came the breach of Henry with Wolsey. On the 20th of September, when the Cardinal accompanied Campeggio on his farewell visit to the King, he was received by his royal master for the last time; and, although the interview was cordial, there were many indications—not lost upon those who were present—that the sun of the great Cardinal was already setting in a bank of darkest cloud.

On the first day of Michaelmas Term 1529, Wolsey sat in Westminster Hall for the last time as Chancellor; and on the same day two Bills were filed against him in the King's Bench for having transgressed the Statute of Provisors by acting as the Pope's Legate. On the 15th of October the King sent for the Great Seal, and directed the Cardinal to remove to a house at Esher. Before he

¹ Sanders, p. 69.

left York Place, the Cardinal signed a deed making over to the King all his temporal possessions, under a promise that none of his spiritual promotions should be touched.

During his stay at Esher, Wolsey led a most devout life, saying Mass daily, and praising God for having given him this opportunity of repenting of his sins. He declared to everyone that he had never enjoyed greater peace of mind; and that, were the King to restore him to his former position, he would return to it most unwillingly.

On October the 23rd Wolsey was judicially declared a rebel and traitor; all his property was forfeited, and his person was placed at the King's mercy. The Lent of 1530 the Cardinal spent with the Carthusian monks of Sheen. He joined the religious in all their offices in choir, and spent many hours each day in their cells talking over the affairs of his soul. In Passion Week he was ordered to go to his see of York, and began his journey forthwith, spending the Holy Week with the monks at Peterborough. He here joined in all the ceremonies of that holy time, walking in the processions, and washing the feet of fifty-nine poor men on Maundy Thursday. His brief sojourn in the north was occupied in works of charity and religion, which won for him golden opinions from his flock, and especially from the poorer members, to whose needs, spiritual and temporal, he entirely devoted himself.

He was not left long, however, in peace. On Friday 4th November 1530, the Earl of Northumberland and others of the King's household arrived in York and arrested him for high treason. Wolsey set out at once for London, in their custody; but he only reached Leicester on Saturday 26th November, to die at the

abbey, where he was buried three days later. That his repentance was true and sincere cannot be doubted; and this belief is found recorded in the description Cavendish gives of his last hours, and more dramatically in Shakespeare's immortal words:

Farewell, a long farewell, to all my greatness!
 This is the state of man. To-day he puts forth
 The tender leaves of hope—to-morrow blossoms,
 And bears his blushing honours thick upon him;
 The third day comes a frost, a killing frost;
 And—when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
 His greatness is a-ripening—nips his root,
 And then he falls as I do. I have ventured,
 Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
 These many summers in a sea of glory;
 But far beyond my depth. My high-blown pride
 At length broke under me; and now has left me
 Weary, and old with service, to the mercy
 Of a rude stream, that must for ever hide me.
 Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye;
 I feel my heart new open'd. O how wretched
 Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours!

Mark but my fall, and that, that ruin'd me.
 Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition.
 By that sin fell the angels; how can man then,
 The image of his Maker, hope to win by 't?
 Love thyself last: cherish those hearts that hate thee;
 Corruption wins not more than honesty.
 Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,
 To silence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not.
 Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
 Thy God's, and truth's; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,
 Thou fall'st a blessed martyr! . . .

O Cromwell, Cromwell!

Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal
 I serv'd my King, He would not in mine age
 Have left me naked to mine enemies.

WHAT, THEN, WAS THE ENGLISH REFORMATION?¹

WHEN Mary died on 17th November 1558, with her passed away the hope of any permanent return of England to the unity of the Catholic Church in communion with Rome. No one probably had much doubt as to the course that would be pursued by "the young woman at Hatfield." She had known for some months that her sister's days were numbered, and she had made the great choice, which affected not only herself and her own soul, but thousands of her then subjects, whilst it decided "the creed of unborn millions in undiscovered lands." She would be a Protestant, and the English people were to belong to the Reformed religion.

Before passing on to consider the settlement as to religion which Elizabeth so successfully imposed upon the bulk of her subjects, it would be well to understand exactly what is meant by the Reformation. It will perhaps appear to many of my readers somewhat superfluous, at this date, to make such an inquiry; but, whatever may be the case in America, we Englishmen are still constantly startled by novel suggestions as to the exact meaning that is to be attached to the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

¹ A lecture given at Notre Dame Univ., U.S.A., October 1905.

A very few years ago, Mr. W. H. Hutton, a well-known writer, holding a position as history tutor at the University of Oxford, addressed "a small society of Oxford theologians" on the subject of the English Reformation. The paper had also been read in London, at Market Harborough, and at the Church Congress at Shrewsbury. After having subsequently appeared in the columns of the *Guardian* newspaper, it was in 1899 printed in the form of a pamphlet under the title of *The English Reformation*. The lecturer thus states his object at the beginning of his address: "I cannot but feel that it would be helpful to many of us to have a clear impression of what the Reformation was. I venture, therefore, to offer a contribution to the discussion on the Reformation, in the form of such conclusions as I have drawn from the study I have given to the subject. . . . Several of these conclusions are those that we have all arrived at long ago; they are even what people nowadays call 'obvious'; but I am inclined to believe that what is 'obvious' is not always understood."

Now, when a lecturer on history at one of the great English universities says, in regard to an event of such importance in English history as the Reformation: "These are the conclusions I have drawn from the study I have given to the subject," we are not unnaturally inclined to accord him a respectful hearing, in spite of the modest warning which accompanies his statement, that he does "not in any way lay claim to speak with authority." The mere fact that they are the conclusions of a man in Mr. Hutton's position, and that he can declare that, "so far as I know, so far as I have gone, they are what I believe to be solid results,"—this mere fact, I say, must certainly cause them to be accepted as such

without question by many who have not been so fortunate as to enjoy Mr. Hutton's opportunities for historical reading and research. More especially must this be the case when he adds that, though he does not "now quote the evidence" for any of these conclusions, he has yet satisfied himself "that there is sufficient evidence for them all." These conclusions, therefore, are worth consideration, not so much because they are Mr. Hutton's as because they are apparently accepted as proven by so many on both sides of the Atlantic.

In brief, the "conclusions" in regard to the English Reformation at which Mr. Hutton has arrived after mature study, and which he considers are all borne out by "sufficient evidence," are the following: "(1) The English Reformation is utterly different from any other Reformation. (2) The English Reformation was spread over two hundred years. It lasted practically from 1485 to 1662. Under Henry VII, all the causes which led to a breach with Rome were in existence; and in one of its chief aspects, the dissolution of the monasteries, the Reformation had actually begun. (3) The so-called 'divorce question' had very little to do with the Reformation. (4) The Reformation was inevitable: nothing could have stopped it."

It will probably be convenient if I make a few remarks on these first four conclusions, before taking Mr. Hutton's fifth and last, which is really the important matter. To begin with the first: "The English Reformation is utterly different from any other Reformation." It is clear at the outset that the word "utterly," unless it is to be divorced from its only recognised meaning, is a mere exaggeration, which no one in face of the known facts could for a moment defend. There are points of obvious

similarity, doctrinal and otherwise, not to speak of direct connection, between the English and the various Continental phases of the Reformation. This no one who knows anything about the matter can deny; and it is quite impossible to claim for the reform movement in England any unique position or "splendid isolation." Apart from this adjective "utterly," the assertion is either a platitude or a truism. The Reformation of the sixteenth century in each country was, of course, different, and sometimes *widely* different, from that of every one of its neighbours. All of them—the Swiss, the Belgian, the German, the Italian, the Polish—were each, in a sense, of course, unique, but no one could say they were "utterly different."

Secondly, we are bidden to observe that "the English Reformation was spread over nearly two hundred years. It lasted practically from 1485 to 1662,"—that is to say, from the accession of the Tudors to the last Act of Uniformity and the "Black Bartholomew." Why 1662 should be considered as the final effort of the Reformation is not obvious; for, beyond the "Black Bartholomew," and the obligation then put upon the clergy to receive episcopal ordination for the due exercise of the ministry in the Established Church, there is no reason why the history of the movement should stop there and not be continued to the present day, any more than why it should begin with 1485. For just as good a reason might the Lutheran Reformation be considered as extending up to the foundation of the Evangelical Church of Prussia in our own century, and as starting with the Council of Basle.

The fact is that "the Reformation" for England, in the only sense which that term has among ordinary and

educated men, means that change which was made in the sixteenth century from what both common and educated folk call "the Catholic religion" to what they call and understand by the name "Protestantism"; that is, such a change as would be implied if the inhabitants, say, of Southern Bavaria had their religion changed for them to that of Pomerania. By this it is, of course, not in the least contended that the change was bad or that it was good; but that it was, *as a change*, a concrete and definite historical fact, which has been known to all and spoken of by all—except perhaps by modern professed controversialists—as "the English Reformation."

It is hard to see how any one acquainted with the facts can doubt that this revolution, whether for good or evil, was in reality carried out in England within the space of, say, twenty years. The real change was an accomplished fact within this brief period of time; and other changes, as to higher level or lower level in practice and belief, that have taken place at various times since, even up to our own days, are wholly insignificant in comparison. In fact, Mr. Hutton, like every reasonable man who comes to the point, and is not merely engaged in "argumenting" (as it has been called) "upon the Pope and his estate," evidently sees this quite clearly himself; for he says: "Elizabeth's reign, if we must be particular, is the real era of the Reformation settlement." If this be so, why (except for the purpose of mere "argumenting upon the Pope") raise issues or lay down postulates that, directly on being examined, prove to be a mere arbitrary use of words, and misleading?

Thirdly, Mr. Hutton is sure the "divorce question" was not so important in the English Reformation movement; in fact, that it "had very little indeed to do with

it." "This is quite plain," he says, "from the dreary volumes of unsavoury letters and pamphlets which record every phase of the case, and which I have been wearily wading through." On this, one observation only seems called for—viz.: how easy it apparently is for different people to draw different conclusions from the perusal of the same documents. Dr. James Gairdner, than whom no one has a greater right to speak with authority on these very documents, declares that "when a gentleman of Mr. Hutton's attainments is able seriously to tell us this, I think it is really time to ask people to put two and two together and say whether the sum can be anything but four. It may be disagreeable to trace the Reformation to so very ignoble an origin; but facts, as the Scottish poet says, are fellows that you can't coerce, and that won't bear to be disputed. . . . That which we call *the* Reformation in England—and it really changed the status of religion all the world over—was the result of Henry VIII's quarrel with the Court of Rome on the subject of his divorce, and *the same* results could not possibly have come about in any other way."

Having got rid of the "divorce" as a cause, or even as an important factor, Mr. Hutton gives us his mature judgment as to the real cause of "the Reformation," that "the feeling of the people" was such that "the Reformation was inevitable: nothing could have stopped it." Fortunately, he does not leave us merely to accept or reject this broad statement, but tells his readers how he came to this conclusion. "This is overwhelmingly borne in upon one," he says, "as one reads, as I have recently been doing, the literature of the fifteenth century—not only Wiclif earlier, but Gascoigne and Pecock, and the Paston Letters. And, besides that,

the most pious lay sons of the Church saw that it must come—More and the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge who introduced Greek.” Over these not very recondite but instructive sources, I may also claim to have passed many a busy and many a meditative hour, but most certainly was not led to the same conclusion. It may be worth while perhaps to explain why, especially as it may help to show the reason why many people seem to get what may be called “tangled ideas” on subjects that border “upon the Pope and his estate.”

“The Reformation,” says Mr. Hutton, “was inevitable.” What is wrong here is all in the little article “the.” Writers who deal with “the English Reformation” should beware how they use their parts of speech. “The Reformation,” when we are professedly dealing with “the English Reformation,” is a definite, concrete fact. We know (or, if we please, we *can* know) what we accurately mean when we speak about it. Taking Elizabeth’s reign, for example, we need have no difficulty in knowing what were its doctrines, its devotions, its discipline, if Sampson, Cartwright, and some other divines and worthies will pass the word in such a case. In all this the English Reformation was *Protestant*, of the left wing of Protestantism; whilst in *regimen* it was that of the right wing—German, Swedish, Danish; Elizabeth herself being, let people put it as they like, what in that right wing was called *summus episcopus*—“the supreme authority in religion.”

When we talk of “the Reformation,” then, in reference to England, it is this concrete thing, “the Elizabethan Church,” that is in question. To say that in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century this was inevitable no one could assert, any more than that Gascoigne, or Pecock,

or More, or the scholars at Oxford and Cambridge who introduced Greek, would have had any sympathy whatever with it. If for "*the* Reformation" there is substituted "*a* Reformation" Mr. Hutton may not be far wrong. "If it be said," writes Dr. Gairdner, "that some reformation must have come quite apart from Henry VIII's divorce, that is a proposition that I am in no way concerned to dispute." It is no new thing that there should be in the Church need of "reform," and we need have no hesitation in saying that one of the greatest calamities that ever befell the Church was the failure of the persistent efforts of "reform in head and members" in the beginning of the fifteenth century. "There were, indeed," to quote Dr. Gairdner again, "reformations in the Church of Rome itself before what we call *the* Reformation, and there might conceivably have been another."

As regards what Mr. Hutton says about the existence of "the strong popular feeling against Rome," here again generalities are misleading. If Tyndale, and later the official preachers, be taken as truly voicing English popular feeling, the case can not be doubtful. If the tone of the general literature and the new evidence supplied by the State Papers for, say, 1530 to 1540, is to be credited, it is impossible to maintain that the breach with Rome was "popular"—that is, that it was desired by "the people" at large, or indeed by any considerable number who had not a personal motive—who did not, in fact, view it as a way leading to prospective personal gains. That there was "any real hostility toward the Catholic Church among the great mass of the people" in England in the sixteenth century, certainly does not appear in any available evidence. "In point of fact," says Dr. Gairdner, "all the appearances are the

other way. Heresy was not popular in England; and the very heretics themselves who objected to Transubstantiation and Purgatory never thought of protesting against the jurisdiction of the See of Rome, until the King, for his own purposes, abolished that jurisdiction altogether." This is the deliberate judgment of Dr. Gairdner, a non-Catholic, who has spent his life among the State Papers of this period.

Mr. Hutton's fifth point opens out a newer and much more interesting series of considerations, and here it is important to give his points in full. "(5) Quite another point: We must not forget or minimise the influence on our Reformation of what may be most conveniently, though not accurately, called Protestantism—I mean the distinct effect of English anti-Catholic writers; and this not merely through Cranmer and the ragged crew who tried to man the ship under Edward VI, but through the writings of Wiclif, and of those who had arrived later at a distinctly Protestant position. I will give one instance. It is impossible to read the Latin works of Wiclif, which are now gradually becoming accessible, without seeing that the English Reformers must have read them. What set the Reformers on that quotation which they say comes from St. Augustine in Article XXIX? I think without doubt Wiclif's treatise *De Eucharistia*, where he quotes the same passage to the same purpose. Where did the Black Rubric come from? It bears a striking resemblance to a passage in the same book."

It will be necessary to say a word or two on these two points of detail. But, first, what are we to think about the general question? Were Wiclif's works a source of doctrine, in regard to the Eucharist, to the English Reformers? Was it from him they drew the teaching they

proclaimed to others? Is there any *prima facie* evidence that this was so? The view is novel. If it is true, it is historically important. If it is not true, it can have no value for the history of this period. The main question, however, is, were the early English Reformers, and still more their followers and successors, students of Wiclif, and did they derive their doctrine *de Eucharistia* from this English source? It might have been thought that recent research had made two points pretty clear: (1) that the leaders of the "Hussite" and other movements, with which the beginning of foreign Protestantism can be brought into undoubted connection, were much more profoundly influenced by Wiclif's teachings than had previously been supposed; and (2) that in England, to use the words of Dr. James Gairdner, "so far from Lollardy having taken any deep root, the traces of it had wholly disappeared long before the great revolution of which it is thought to be the forerunner."

In other words, it would seem to be certain that the intellectual and spiritual heirs of Wiclif are to be sought for abroad, not at home; and that the influence of his teaching (*De Eucharistia*, for instance) is distinctly traceable among the early foreign Reformers. But as regards England, in the light of ascertainable facts, the theory put forward by Mr. Hutton would appear baseless. If it were true, it would have been possible to find some trace of such influence in the writings or doings of the early Reformers during the heyday of "Cranmer and the ragged crew," as Mr. Hutton calls the first English Protestants; and, later, during the Elizabethan settlement. Of Wiclif's works we have practically nothing. A print of the *Wiclif* at Nuremberg in 1546, another by Foxe at Strasburg in 1534; and, in England itself, the *Prologue*

of the Bible in Henry's reign (if indeed the Prologue be by Wiclif at all),¹ and nothing else, is all that we find in the way of influences.

The fact is that the lines upon which the English Reformation was conceived, and the influences which carried it forward, were, in the main, *foreign*; and it is difficult to see how any one, not moved by controversial exigencies, can possibly, in view of the patent facts of history, come to any other conclusions. This is true absolutely in regard to the Eucharistic doctrine of the English established religion. It is to works of the German and Swiss Reformers that the student of history must look if he would understand the full meaning of the movement and rightly gauge its spirit.

It is somewhat difficult for an outsider to understand why, in certain schools of thought, so much objection is now raised to the authority of names which in the early days of the English Reformation were unquestionably looked upon as those of the apostles and prophets of the new religious renaissance. There can be no sort of doubt

¹ The fact is, the source of the Wiclif cult is in Foxe; and Mr. Hutton need not take long in satisfying himself what figure Wiclif cuts as a doctor *de Eucharistia* in that lengthy story of his life, doctrine, and influence. Another book that may be consulted in this matter is the "General Index" of the publications of the Parker Society, where are easily found the names of Calvin, Bucer, Bullinger, Peter Martyr. And it will be seen that while these names occupy, each of them, several columns, Wiclif has only three-quarters of a column. Those who will read (not surmise about) the works published by the Parker Society, which form the monuments and records of "the English Reformation," will see that this represents fairly enough the measure of the "influence" exercised over the English religious movements of the sixteenth century by the foreign Reformers and the great "English anti-Catholic writers," Wiclif or the others.

that the beginnings at least of the actual religious changes in England are to be attributed to the introduction of Lutheran principles and ideals from abroad; and that for a long time both English churchmen and laymen, so far from manifesting any sympathy with this foreign importation, did all in their power to prevent what they held to be these false and poisonous teachings from taking root in England. The works of Sir Thomas More alone show that the English authorities regarded the spread of Lutheranism as nothing less than a catastrophe. To them it was a "Lutheran invasion" against which it was the manifest duty of all in power and office to defend their country.

Whatever may have been the prevailing views of responsible statesmen and ecclesiastics as to the desirability of "reform" in its general sense, nothing is more certain than that, up to the very eve of the religious changes, the common sense of Englishmen would have indignantly repudiated any leaning to the principles of "*the* Reformation" which subsequently obtained. The most that can be said is that Cranmer, with that peculiar subtlety of his when shades of doctrine are concerned, and Cromwell, with his statecraft, did the best they could to effect a Lutheran lodgment in Catholic England, and that they were seconded by the efforts of one or two men like Bishop Foxe of Hereford and Dr. Barnes. These efforts ended, however, only in defeat; and in the case of two at least of the chief actors, in death.

"And now comes Elizabeth," as Mr. Hutton says. "Hers was the real settlement of the Church. She again, by every legal power of Church and State, freed England from Rome. Again we had our English services. The royal supremacy, less strongly than the Convocations

had stated it in her father's reign, was reaffirmed. The bishops who refused to accept it were deprived, as by church law they could rightfully be. I need not describe the church government, the Prayer Book, the Articles, under Elizabeth, because they were, speaking broadly, what they are now."

To understand the full truth of these words, it is necessary to examine into the meaning of the Elizabethan settlement which made the Church, as by law established, what it has remained ever since. Within a few hours of Queen Mary's death, the Commons were summoned to the bar of the House of Lords for the proclamation of her successor. It was the duty of Heath, the Archbishop of York, as chancellor, to declare that the Lady Elizabeth was now Queen of England. "Of her most lawful right and title to the crown," he said, "none could make question." In point of fact, there was no other candidate; and her title to the throne rested upon her father's will, an unrepealed statute, and the fact that she was the only descendant of Henry. Still there must have been many who would have shaken their heads over her legitimacy. It would not have been forgotten that Parliament had quite recently declared that Henry had been lawfully married to Katherine of Aragon, with the implied logical sequence that he was *not* married to Anne—a judgment to which the new Queen's godfather, Cranmer, had previously come; although his reasons, whilst suggesting something too bad to make public, remained unknown.

Still, people shut their eyes to the unpleasant position of Elizabeth from a legal point of view, especially as that position was not of her own making. No voice was raised in opposition; and whatever suspicions Catholics

might have had as to her religious sentiments, a week after the proclamation of their new sovereign, when she made her entry into London, she was met at Highgate by all the Catholic bishops, who knelt to do her homage and make profession of their loyalty. But there were some who noted indications of a change. Hardly was Mary dead before Bishop White, of Winchester, was arrested for preaching over her body an inopportune sermon, in which he extolled her for the restoration of the ancient faith. "The new Queen," says Professor Maitland, the most recent and most careful writer on this period—"the new Queen was an artist to the finger tips. The English Bible was rapturously kissed; the Tower could not be re-entered without uplifted eyes and thankful words; and her hand (it was a pretty hand) shrank, so folk said, from Bonner's lips."

What the religious convictions of the new Queen were was not at first considered. Although many had strong suspicions that her inclination was toward the "reforming" party, it was supposed that she had no very strong views on religious matters, and that the future alone could determine her religious policy. In fact, men were divided as to whether or not she had any belief. The Spanish envoy, puzzled by her shifty replies, once suggested that she was in her inmost soul an atheist; and the history of her religious changes in the previous reigns would show that her principles were, at least, somewhat elastic. Under Edward VI, Elizabeth had accommodated herself to his varied forms of progressive Protestantism; under her sister she had returned to the practice of the Catholic religion; and, according to one contemporary account, when the late Queen on her deathbed had conjured her to declare her real convictions, Elizabeth is

said to have "prayed God [that] the earth might open and swallow her up alive if she were not a true Roman Catholic." Still, whatever the people at large may have thought about her religion, all parties united in accepting her as their Queen; and, as she herself confessed, accepted her with true and devoted loyalty.

To-day, I believe, most people have given up the silly story, believed in by generations of Englishmen, that the subsequent action of Elizabeth to Catholics was caused by the Pope's refusal to acknowledge her as rightful Queen at the beginning of her reign, and by the consequent hostile reception of her, in obedience to his voice, by the English Catholics. Paul IV was supposed to have informed Elizabeth, amongst other things, that she was a bastard, and that England was a fief of the Holy See. This Pope, says a modern historian, "has much to answer for, but it was no insult from him that made Elizabeth a Protestant." On the contrary, only a few weeks after her accession, Sir Edward Carne, the envoy of the late Queen at the Curia, wrote from Rome to Cecil to inform him that Paul IV, in spite of the efforts of the French, had refused to declare himself against the succession of Elizabeth to the throne, and would be ready to recognise her if she would first formally send to acquaint him of her accession. At Christmas, too, when the new Queen was showing her mind as to religion by forbidding the Elevation of the Host, the Pope was still talking kindly of her to the French ambassador. When, on 1st February, Elizabeth told Carne to come home, as she had nothing more for him to do, the question of her attitude to Catholicism was no longer doubtful; and when, on 27th March, Paul IV detained Carne in Rome, he did so not because

the Queen was "base-born," but because she could now be regarded only as a heretic.

No time was really lost. Matters of religion were soon under consideration. Two days only after the Queen's reception in London, on 25th November 1558, the imperial ambassador wrote to his master that, "though no change had been made in religion yet" (*yet*—that is, remember, in hardly more than a week from her accession), "it was easy to conjecture in what way lay her desires and what she intended." And the ambassador was not mistaken in his estimate of the situation. It was at once made evident by the constitution of the Council, in which, while retaining thirteen of Mary's advisers, she placed eight new ones, all well known as favourers of the "Reformed" religion. At the head of all, as her Secretary, she put Sir William Cecil (afterward Lord Burghley), then in his thirty-eighth year. To him more than to any one else she owed the complete success of her religious policy. The Great Seal, which Archbishop Heath resigned, was given to Nicholas Bacon, who was married to the sister of Cecil's wife.

By the chief Secretary's advice, there was formed a secret cabinet within the cabinet, consisting of himself with four others; and by this means he and Elizabeth were able to make all their plans for the change of religion in secret and at their leisure. So carefully guarded was their design that, though suspicions were rife enough, nothing was known for certain. In fact, as Howard, in his *Annals*, says: "Some colour of hope was conceived that noe alteratione should be made at all, for that a proclamatiōe was presently set forth [on 27th December 1558] that no man should alter any rites and ceremonyes at that tyme used in the Church." All the

time, however, the secret committee was preparing; and the general principle upon which it acted, as stated by the Protestant historian Collier, was "that it was by no means advisable to allow of more than one Church; that the free exercise of different religions would prove an everlasting principle of sedition and disturbance."

What that one form of religion was to be can not be doubtful. Within the first few weeks of the reign, Elizabeth and Cecil had made up their minds as to the peculiar form of national religion which was alone to be tolerated. There is still in existence a paper, by Sir Thomas Smith, one of Cecil's chief lieutenants, in which the whole scheme is drawn up in detail. The document in question gives full instructions to a select committee of Reformers (most of whom subsequently became Protestant bishops), to meet in December and prepare for the coming "alteration of religion." This change was to "be first attempted at the next Parliament"; great care was to be taken to have everything ready, because "many people of our own will be very much discontented," especially those "who governed in the late Queen's time," and were chosen "for being hot and earnest in the *other* religion," as that of the Catholics was called. To guard against the possibility of failure, all those who were in authority, "only or chiefly for being of the Pope's religion," should be got rid of, and if possible "searched by all law." In place of these, "such as are known to be sure in religion" were to be given all authority. And in regard to this, and to secure success, Elizabeth, "to maintain and establish *her* religion," must do what Queen Mary did.

As to the existing bishops and clergy, it was thought that they would be hard to move; and so the Queen

"must seek, as well by Parliament as by the just laws of England, in *præmunire* and other such penal laws, to bring them again into order," and not to pardon them until they throw themselves on her mercy, "abjure the Pope of Rome, and conform themselves to the new alterations." A special committee was then appointed to have "a plat or book" for the New Service "ready drawn to her Highness; which, being approved of her Majesty, may be so put into the Parliament house." Meanwhile it was recommended that all innovations in religious worship should be prohibited; and that "until such time as the book came forth," no alterations were to be made "further than her Majesty hath, except it be to receive the Communion as her Highness pleaseth on high feasts; . . . and for her Highness's conscience till then if there be some other devout sort of prayers or memory said; and the seldomer *Mass*." It was obviously in consequence of this that the proclamation against innovations was issued on 27th December 1558, by which time every preparation for the religious changes was already made.

Many signs of these coming changes were soon visible. The reforming divines flocked back to England from their refuges with the foreign Protestants. According to the suggestion of Smith's memorandum that the Queen was free to initiate changes in her private chapel, Bishop Oglethorpe of Carlisle, whilst robing for Mass on Christmas morning received an order from the Queen that he was not to elevate the Blessed Sacrament in her royal presence. To this the Bishop replied, "my life is the Queen's, but my conscience is my own,"—intimating at the same time to the messenger that he intended to continue what the Catholic rite prescribed. The Queen

thereupon left the chapel, with her suite, after the Gospel.

Within two months of Elizabeth's accession there was no room for doubt as to her intention. 15th January 1559 had been appointed for her coronation—the very time when Calvin was engaged in dedicating to her his commentary on the Book of Isaias. The bishops met and unanimously agreed that they could not in conscience crown and anoint her who, whilst still professing to belong to the old religion, had already shown unmistakable evidence of a determination to revolutionise the existing state of things and re-establish the religious conditions of the reign of Edward VI. At length, however, the Bishop of Carlisle consented to set the crown upon her head, but not until she had promised to take the accustomed oath, by which she would solemnly engage herself “to maintain the laws, honour, peace, and privileges of the Church as they existed in the time of King Edward the Confessor.” Elizabeth kept her promise. She was conducted into Westminster Abbey by “all the byshoppes, and all the chapell with 3 crosses, and in her copes, the byshops mytered and syngyng *Salve festa dies*, . . . and so to the Abbey to Mass.”¹ Elizabeth attended Mass, took the old oath, received the sacred unction, and conformed in everything to the ancient rites of the Catholic Pontifical—although recently some doubt has been thrown on the question of her reception of Communion.

On 25th January 1559, ten days after the coronation festivities, Parliament met. As usual in Catholic times, it was opened by a Solemn Mass, at which Elizabeth was present; but by her order the sermon was preached

¹ Machyn, *Diary* (ed. Camden Soc.), p. 187.

by Dr. Cox, late of Frankfort, and of old, King Edward's tutor—a notorious Protestant. The Commons who assembled in 1559 were probably to be relied upon, as they had been summoned under the direct influence of the crown; but, on the other hand, there were at Westminster not a few men who were afterwards noted as "hinderers of true religion," or at best as "faint professors." The first business transacted was the Parliament's formal recognition of the Queen's right to the throne. "Elizabeth's painful past," says a modern authority, "was veiled in a few words." Unlike Mary, who had been eager to obtain a reversal of the Act by which her mother's marriage with Henry VIII was declared illegitimate, Elizabeth contented herself with a declaration of her royal descent, and left her mother still under the stigma of incest, adultery, and treason. As some one said, it seemed almost as if she desired to forget that she ever had a mother, and was content to remember that she was her father's daughter.

Before the new laws concerning religion were proposed, an Act was passed giving back to the crown the tenths and first-fruits which Mary had surrendered to their ancient purposes. At the same time Elizabeth took possession of all the abbey lands and other church property which had been restored, and upon which she could lay her hands. When this had been done, the Act of Royal Supremacy was immediately proposed for the acceptance of Parliament. Round this the battle raged for more than two months—from 9th February to 29th April. The object of the Bill was to do away with the spiritual supremacy of the Pope and substitute that of the crown. "It went," says Professor Maitland, "the full Henrician length in its Caesaro-papalism and its

severity." For, under pain of being accounted a traitor, every one was to swear that Elizabeth was supreme head of the Church, from the archbishop to the parish beadle. No one could henceforth hold any office in Church or State who was unwilling to renounce the Pope and acknowledge the royal supremacy. In other words, every adherent of the old faith was at once excluded from any and every position if he did not deny his faith and sacrifice his conscience. "I desire," said one of the lay Catholics in the Commons at the time—"I desire it may be remembered that people who suffer for refusing this oath are not to be considered as common malefactors, thieves, and murderers. They do not offend from wicked intention and malice prepense. No: it is conscience and good meaning which makes them clash with the law."

The measure was promoted in the Lower House, and with management the Government passed it. In the Upper House the bishops were obliged to fight strenuously against a measure which would place all the Catholic party at the mercy of the State. Of the twenty-six English sees, ten were actually vacant on Elizabeth's accession; and for one reason or another some four bishops could not attend the sittings; so that the strength of the episcopal bench was in the debates not more than a dozen. Still, twelve determined men could effect much in a house in which, as a rule, not more than thirty temporal lords were present; and on the 18th of March the project had assumed the milder form of forfeiture of office and benefice as the punishment for the offence of denying the Queen's headship of the Church. In this form it passed with only two temporal lords against it, though a Catholic declares that there were

other good Christians absent, feigning to be ill. Thus the Bill went back again to the Commons, and, with the bishops still fighting, was read thrice, and became law on 22nd March 1559.

Meanwhile the convocation of the clergy met at the same time as Parliament. To strengthen the hands of the bishops the Lower House drew up a "Declaration of Catholic Faith." "It became plain," says Maitland, "that the clergy in possession would not yield." Their declaration is important and interesting, if for no other reason than because it was the last solemn pronouncement of the English Church in convocation before its final alteration. By it that Church corporately affirmed its belief in the existence of the "natural body of Christ," under the species of bread and wine, "in the Sacrament of the Altar, by virtue of the word of Christ duly spoken by the priest." It declared also its belief in Transubstantiation, and in the true sacrificial character of the Mass; and it affirmed "that to Blessed Peter and to his lawful successors in the Apostolic See, as Vicars of Christ, has been given the supreme power of feeding and ruling the Church of Christ upon earth, and of confirming their brethren." To these articles the English Universities also gave in their adherence. Thus the bishops were staunch to a man; and "the English Church by its lawful representatives, refused to reform itself on the lines desired by the Queen and Cecil." This being so, again to quote Maitland, "the Reformation would be an unprecedented *state-stroke*."

In 1559 Easter fell on the 22nd of March; and up to that date, beyond the abolition of Papal Supremacy, the Government programme for reform of doctrine and worship had not been carried. Apparently some attempts

had by this time been made to change the services; and these attempts, meeting with resistance, had failed. Elizabeth had secured noted Protestants to preach her Lent-sermons in the persons of Scory and Sandys, Grindal and Cox; and on Easter Day, when she received Communion publicly under both kinds, the news spread rapidly over Europe.

Meanwhile a conference between the Catholic bishops and a body of Protestant divines was ordered to be held. The rules of the debate were settled by Archbishop Heath and Nicholas Bacon; and on Friday in Easter Week the parties met in the choir at Westminster Abbey, in the presence of Members of Parliament and a great multitude. The Catholic party were to defend the Latin Mass, to deny the right of any particular Church to change rites and ceremonies at will, and to maintain the propitiatory character of the Sacrifice of the Mass. This last point was skilfully chosen in place of any dispute upon the sacrament generally, since previous experience of such conferences—that at Worms, for instance—had shown that when the question of the *presence* of Christ in the sacrament was raised, the Protestant party was immediately and hopelessly divided as to its teaching. The conference came to a sudden end. On Monday, the second day, after bitter wrangles about procedure, two of the bishops were committed to prison for intemperate language, and thus at the most critical period the Catholic party in the House of Lords was weakened by two votes.

On the following day Parliament resumed its sittings. The first business was with regard to "The Supreme Head" title. The Queen had determined not to take it, and Cecil had to propose a new bill. After some diffi-

culty on the part of those who considered that she had the supreme spiritual authority—*jure divino*—with her crown, the phrase was invented, “Only Supreme Governor in the realm as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as in temporal.” Whether this was very different from the old headship may be doubted, especially as among other statutes of Henry VIII now revived was one declaring that “the King is head of the Church, and that by the word of God all ecclesiastical jurisdiction flows from him.” “Catholics,” writes Professor Maitland, “suspected that the Queen’s husband would be the head of the Church, if not head of his wife, and saw the old title concealed behind the new *et cætera*. Protestant lawyers said she could take the title when she liked. Sensible men saw that, having the substance, she could afford to waive the name.” There were debates and further concessions, and the famous Act of Supremacy was secured finally only on 29th April 1559.

In the ten days from 18th April to 28th April the “Bill for Uniformity in Religion” was driven through the Parliament. By this Act the service contained in a certain Book of Common Prayer, and no other, was made compulsory. The old story that the intention of Elizabeth’s Government was to introduce the First Prayer Book of Edward VI is disproved by facts. From the outset, with three slight modifications, the liturgy adopted the Queen’s committee—half the members of which had been refugees from England and dwelling among the German and Swiss Protestants during the last reign, and the rest of whom were well known as earnest and advanced Reformers—was the Calvinistic Prayer Book of A.D. 1552.

The Bill for this Book had been introduced into Parliament in March. The authorities were foiled at this first attempt (how or why does not appear), but they were not baffled; and on 17th March a new Bill—"that no person shall be punished for using the religion used in King Edward's last year"—was proposed. This was pushed through the house in two days, and it was even more than the thin end of the wedge. After Easter, and the Westminster Conference, the proposed Book was reintroduced and carried on 28th April by a bare majority of three votes. "Nine temporal lords, including the treasurer (the Marquis of Winchester), and nine bishops (two were in prison) voted against the bill." The entire body of the bishops was opposed to the change in religion, and it was by no means clear that any Act could be legally carried without the consent of one of the estates of the realm—the lords spiritual.

The famous speech of Bishop Scot and that of Abbot Feckenham, in which they challenged the world to produce a single instance where the bishops were not consulted and listened to in a controversy of this kind, were practically the last constitutional efforts made by the legal representatives of the old religion to stay the flood of innovation. That their weighty arguments were not wholly unheeded may perhaps be judged by the very narrow majority by which the Government was saved from defeat. Had Cecil not created peers with known Protestant proclivities, and had there not been so many episcopal sees vacant at the time, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Government, for a while at least, would not have carried its project, and the new liturgy would have been rejected. As it was, however, with two of the bishops safely in prison, the

Elizabethan settlement rested upon the infallibility of the odd three.

What was really the effect of this *settlement*? Let me give it to you in the words of Professor Maitland, who, though no Catholic, has proved that he is not afraid to look facts in the face. "A radical change in doctrine, worship and discipline has been made by the Queen and Parliament, against the will of prelates and ecclesiastical councils. The legislative powers of convocations is once more subject to royal control. The derivation of episcopal from royal jurisdiction has been once more asserted in the words of Henry VIII. Appeal from the courts of the Church lies to royal delegates, who may be laymen. . . . Obstinate heresy is still a capital crime; but, practically, the bishops have little power of forcing heretics to stand a trial; and, unless Parliament and Convocation otherwise ordain, only the wilder sectaries will be in danger of burning. There is no 'liberty of cult.' The Prayer Book prescribes the only lawful form of common worship. The clergyman who adopts any other, even in a private chapel, commits a crime, so does he who procures this aberration from conformity. Everyone must go to church on Sunday and bide prayer and preaching, or forfeit twelve pence to the use of the poor. Much also can be done to insure conformity by excommunication, which has imprisonment behind it. The papal authority is abolished. Clergy and officeholders can be required to swear that it is naught; if they refuse the oath, they lose office and benefice. If any one advisedly maintains that authority, he forfeits his goods; on a third conviction, he is a traitor.

"The service book is not such as will satisfy all ardent Reformers; but their foreign fathers in the faith think

it not intolerable, and the glad news goes out that the Mass is abolished. . . . One point was clear. The Henrician Anglo-Catholicism was dead and buried. It died with Henry and was interred by Stephen Gardiner. In distant days its spirit might arise, but not yet."

Such was the Elizabethan settlement of religion, and its character is marked by its deliberate choice of the Calvinistic recension of the Edwardine Prayer Book.

EDWARD VI AND THE CATHOLIC LITURGY¹

EVEN after this lapse of time men are not agreed as to what Edward VI, or rather his advisers, actually did in regard to the ancient liturgy of the Church. It is asserted that the *Book of Common Prayer*, then first introduced, is merely a translated and simplified edition of the Catholic Missal and Breviary; also that, specifically, the *Communion Service* is the Catholic Mass in English; and that the *Ordinal*, or *Ordination Service*, is an English recension of the Roman Pontifical. I fancy this, in general terms, is believed to be the case by a good many who should know better; and I have heard Catholics as well as Protestants express astonishment when told that such a belief, in view of plain facts, is quite untenable. I propose, then, briefly to consider the question: What was done with the Catholic Liturgy by the Reformers in the reign of Edward VI, when the *Book of Common Prayer* and the English *Ordinal* were in the making? Unless a clear and intelligible idea can be gained of the liturgical changes at this period, it is impossible to understand a period which is the turning point in the religious history of England.

At the outset it must be allowed that the first Prayer

¹ A lecture given at Notre Dame Univ., Indiana, U.S.A., October 1905.

Book of Edward VI was on the face of it a revolution, and that on two grounds. Local and diocesan usage of every sort was swept away, and an absolute uniformity of service was prescribed for the whole realm—a thing unheard of in the ancient Catholic Church in England no less than in France and Germany. This note of uniformity is struck emphatically in the Act itself, which also declares the peace and quiet to be engendered by the change. Secondly, a book was introduced, the form and disposition of which were obviously unlike any hitherto in use for public worship in England.

Whether a nearer examination would show that the divergence is rather one of outward seeming than of reality, is a matter involving many considerations. Amongst these the following must necessarily find a place: What position does the first Prayer Book hold in regard to the ancient service books in England, or other contemporary documents of the same kind? Is it conservative, is it innovating? And how far is it either? What was its inspiration? What were its sources? Unfortunately, all these questions have become involved in extraneous and notably polemical considerations. These, as all will allow, are hardly favourable to the investigation or exposition of bare historic truth. But, in spite of these, it should not be impossible to fix, with a sufficient degree of accuracy and certainty, the position which the Prayer Books of Edward VI really hold in the religious history of the time, especially when new documents can be produced to make the task more easy or the result more sure.

Cranmer had long been contemplating some reform of the Breviary before the compilation of the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. His studies are to be found

in a manuscript in the British Museum; and this volume helps us to understand the connection between the finished Prayer Book and Cardinal Quignon's Breviary, to which, fifty years ago, the late Sir William Palmer pointed out its indebtedness. These projects of liturgical change, however, need not detain us, and I pass on at once to the more important schemes of change contemplated and carried out by the authority of the King's advisers.

The first year of Edward's reign, 1546, saw some Catholic practices attacked; but, although in the sermons preached in Lent plain indications were given of contemplated changes, the temper of the people made it imperative to proceed with caution. The expedient adopted was that of a royal visitation, which had proved so successful in Henry VIII's reign. The commissioners were furnished with certain injunctions to be imposed by the supreme authority of the King as Head of the Church.

The following changes inaugurated at this time by the King's authority require only mention here. No lights were in future to be burned before any image. The Epistle and Gospel at the High Mass were to be read to the people in English, in the pulpit or other convenient place. Every Sunday and holyday one chapter of the New Testament in English was to be read at Matins immediately after the lessons, and one chapter of the Old Testament at Evensong after the *Magnificat*. "When nine lessons are to be read in the church, three of them" were to be omitted with their responsories; and at Evensong the responses with all the commemorations were to be left out. Henceforth no procession was to be allowed in any church or churchyard or other

place; but immediately before the High Mass the clergy were by the injunctions ordered to kneel in the midst of the church and sing or say the litany, which had been set forth in English.

Injunctions, given to the cathedral and collegiate churches in the autumn of this same year, 1547, were ordained to shorten the services. The aim of these provisions is clear. They were intended to bring the sermon into chief prominence, at the expense of the prayers and psalmody. They secured also, by the restriction of all sung Masses to the choir, that such services should have a congregational character.

One of the first results of this visitation was to bring Bishops Gardiner and Bonner to the Fleet prison. The latter, on 12th August, was convened before the Council, to which Sir Anthony Cooke, one of the royal visitors in the diocese of London, had reported the Bishop's protest against the Injunctions. At the Council, Bonner agreed to withdraw his protest; but, as a warning to others, he was kept in the Fleet for a week. "The Bishop of Winchester," so runs the entry in the Council Book, "having written to the lords of his Majesty's Council, and besides that spoken to others impertinent things of the King's Majesty's visitation, and refused to receive the Injunctions and Homilies, because, as he said on being examined by their lordships thereupon, they contained things dissident with the Word of God, so as his conscience would not suffer him to accept them, was sent under the safe leading of Sir Anthony Wingfield to the Fleet."

Of the nature of his confinement there, he himself writes to Somerset on 12th November: "These seven weeks saving one day I have been here under such

straight keeping as I have spoken with no man." He adds that he has been obliged to leave off study and give himself "to continual walks for exercise." From another letter written by the Bishop from his prison on 14th October, 1547, it is clear that his action was deliberate. He was determined by all means in his power to stay the course, in which he clearly saw a determined attack upon the faith as well as the practices of the old Church of England.

With Gardiner safe in prison, Parliament was summoned to meet on 4th November 1547. The opening of the first Parliament of the reign was made the occasion of a state pageant—"his Majesty riding from Westminster Palace to the Church of St. Peter, in his parliament robes, with all his lords, spiritual and temporal, riding in their robes also." This opportunity, moreover, was seized upon to introduce a novelty more significant than any yet attempted; for it touched the ritual of the Mass itself. After a sermon by Dr. Ridley, the new Bishop of Rochester, "the Mass began," writes Wriothesley. "*The Gloria in Excelsis*, the Creed, and the *Agnus* were all sung in English." The prayers said by the priest, including of course the sacred Canon, were, as formerly, in Latin; but the general effect which the service must have had upon those present is correctly given by the historian Stowe when he writes: "That same day Mass was sung before the lords in the English tongue."

This was undoubtedly the most important liturgical innovation yet attempted. There had been, it is true, essays in change which at the time must have been startling enough. The novel ritual of consecration and coronation before drawn up by the Council had manifested a disregard for time-honoured ceremonies.

Whilst Parliament was actually sitting, the Council gave their authority to a resumption of the war against images, which it had been found wise to discontinue in the previous September. Says the author of the Grey Friars' chronicle: "Item: The seventeenth day of the same month of November, at night, was pulled down the rood in Paul's, with Mary and John, and all the images in the church. And two of the men that laboured at it were slain, and divers others sore hurt." At the same time the pulpit was used to decry the old Catholic devotion to images. The pulpit comedies of Henry's days were renewed, and after the sermons the children were invited to break the "idols" to pieces.

But the public insults and mockeries heaped upon holy things did not rest here. They were turned against the Blessed Sacrament, which the whole people throughout the land believed to be our Blessed Lord Himself. It was nicknamed "Jack in the box, with divers other shameful names," by which the public conscience was gravely shocked. To meet the popular feeling, an act of Parliament was proposed, putting down such profanity under severe penalties. But Somerset, Cranmer, and their friends knew how to turn even this into a means for advancing their own ends.

On 12th November a Bill "for the Sacrament of the Altar" was read for the first time in the House of Peers. The second reading was taken on the 15th, and here for the moment the matter rested. This Bill may be called the Catholic half of the Act subsequently passed. Its object was to put down the growing irreverence to the Blessed Sacrament. Toward the end of the same month of November, however, another measure appeared, providing "for the administration of the Sacrament under

both kinds," which was read for the first time on the 26th. On 3rd December, the former Bill for the reverence to the Sacrament was read a third time, and in the same sitting committed to Somerset. The Bill thus passed in the Lords is the Act which now appears in the statute book, combining, under one single Act (1) the Bill for reverence to the Sacrament, and (2) the Bill for Communion in both kinds.

The episcopal vote given in favour of and against this measure deserves consideration. Eleven bishops were absent from Parliament on the occasion, and seem to have appointed no proxies;¹ and, on looking at the list of absentees, there does not seem to have been one amongst them who can fairly be classed among the advocates of change.

The votes of the five bishops recorded against the Bill are more weighty than a mere expression of opinion. These prelates, above the rest then in Parliament, must have ardently desired to see as the law of the land that part of the amalgamated Bill which professed to put down all irreverences against the Blessed Sacrament. Believing It to be what they did, it must have cost them much even to appear unwilling to defend It against scurrilous unbelief. Their objection consequently to the portion tacked on by Somerset and his friends must have been deep indeed to overcome the natural instinct of a Catholic to welcome legal condemnation of the current blasphemies.

¹ These eleven were: Gardiner, detained in the Fleet; Vesey of Exeter; Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield; Kitchin of Llandaff; Knight of Bath; Thirlby of Westminster; Wakeman of Gloucester; Chambers of Peterborough; Bird of Chester; Bulkeley of Bangor; and King of Oxford.

Ten bishops voted for the measure. Their intentions in so doing must be purely a matter of conjecture; but, looking at after events, it will not be far from the truth to divide them equally into two parties: one following the lead of Cranmer, the other of Tunstall of Durham.¹

The Bill was read for the first time in the Commons on 10th December, the very day it had passed in the Lords. Up to the last moment there was manifested on the part of the Government a disposition to tamper with it. "On December 17," says the record in the Journals of the Lords, "a proviso was sent to the Commons House, through Mr. Hales, to be attached to the Bill for the Most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, the which the Commons would not receive because the Lords had not given their consent."²

Of this Bill passed in the Commons on 17th December it is here sufficient to notice that the first portion con-

¹ Those led by Cranmer were probably the bishops of Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Rochester; those led by Tunstall were Salisbury, St. Asaph, Carlisle, and Bristol.

² This entry is all that is known on the subject; but it is evident that the provision in question has nothing to do with the joining of the two Bills, as the amalgamation was effected before the Bill was sent down to the Lower House on 10th December; and it was this Bill which passed there on the 17th.

Perhaps some light may be thrown on the nature of the provision which at the last moment it was desired to attach to the Bill, by the report of the generally well-informed French ambassador. "It was expected," he writes, "that there would be some commotion in this parliament for the Sacrament of the Altar, which it was wished to abolish. Nevertheless, it will remain for the present, as people think; although the Protector and the chief nobles do not *use* it any more at home among their families, where they act as badly as, or worse than, the Sacramentarians in Germany." (De Selve, p. 248: "*use*"—*i.e.*, they no longer had Mass in their private chapels.)

demned all who, "in their sermons, preachings, readings, lectures, communications, arguments, rhymes, songs or jests," should call the Blessed Sacrament "by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear." The second branch of the statute, after declaring that the administration of Holy Communion under both kinds, of bread and wine, was conformable to primitive practice, ordered that it should be so administered "except necessity otherwise requires."

It is now necessary to consider the action of convocation in this matter. On 30th November we read in the acts of that assembly: "The prolocutor showed and caused to be publicly read the form of a certain ordinance delivered to him, as he asserts, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the taking of the Body of Our Lord under both kinds, of bread and also of wine." The document was then subscribed by the prolocutor and fifteen others out of the fifty-eight present at the session. With regard to this document, it does not appear that it was a ritual form; there is nothing whatever to show that the paper was "sent down from the bishops," as Burnet has it; or "that it had been promoted among the bishops of the Upper House," as more modern writers have asserted. All that is known for certain is that the prolocutor asserted it "was given him by the Archbishop."

In this connection it must be borne in mind that the Bill for receiving the Sacrament under both kinds was read for the first time in Parliament on 26th November, just four days before it was mooted in convocation. It may thus be considered as a parliamentary measure; and it seems not at all improbable that it was raised in the assembly of clergy as a mere expedient to facilitate the passing of the Bill by producing some clerical ex-

pression of approval. This could hardly have been encouraging, as the attempt to secure even a majority in favour of the change signally failed.

By the time the Communion Book was ready, matters had progressed in favour of the Reformers. A set of questions relating to the Mass were proposed to the majority of the bishops of both Provinces, probably some time after 20th December 1547. On examination, the questions will be found to fall into three categories. The third and fourth questions may be summed up thus: "What do you *mean* by the Mass?" The first, second, and fifth ask: "What is the Mass *for*—for Sacrifice or Communion?" The sixth and seventh raise the practical question: "Shall we do away with the Mass, *offered* for the living and the dead, as distinct from Communion?" The two concluding questions relate to subordinate matters. The one (No. 8) asks whether the Gospel should be explained at the Mass to the people; and the other (No. 9), whether the Mass should be in English.

It has been stated that the questions were tentative. Their object apparently was to sound the bishops and see how far the innovators might safely go; and, in particular, to find out whether it would be now possible to sweep away the Mass altogether, or whether it would be prudent to temporise yet awhile. The answers given by the bishops are of great importance and interest. They show the attitude of mind of each individual prelate toward the traditional system, and throw much light on the later sequence of events. It is therefore necessary to dwell upon them at some length.

As might be expected, Cranmer and Ridley took the extreme line of innovation in everything. In this they

were generally followed, although not in all details, by Holbeach of Lincoln and Barlow of St. David's, with Doctors Cox and Taylor. Goodrich of Ely stands alone. He takes the *via media*, discreetly leaving the settlement to the will of those in power; but not so far leaving the ancient lines as to make retractation, and the retention of his See in Mary's reign, any very difficult matter.

The rest of the bishops took the Catholic view in their replies to all the questions submitted. Six of them answered jointly throughout. The first of these, Bonner of London, was a practical man, but evidently no theologian. The unanimity of Skip of Hereford, Day of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester, is noteworthy in view of the subsequent history. A fifth of the number, Rugg of Norwich, although less known, took a prominent part, as will be seen, in the discussions which preceded the introduction of the bill for Common Prayer in the House of Lords. The sixth was Wharton of St. Asaph.

The replies of Cranmer were throughout laconic and fitted to the terms of the questions. His mind as to his answers was probably made up when framing them. Taking the questions as summarised above, the answer of the Archbishop to the interrogatory as to the nature of the Mass is, that the "oblation and sacrifice" of Christ in the Mass are terms improperly used, and that it is only a "memory and representation" of the sacrifice of the Cross. In other words, Cranmer and the four bishops who went with him rejected the sacrifice of the Mass as it had hitherto been received in England and elsewhere.

The point of questions 1, 2, and 5, taken together, was to elicit opinions as to whether, apart from Communion,

the Mass had any virtue in itself, or whether its sole virtue for the individual was in his own act of communion. Cranmer and the rest of the innovating party answered by saying that the virtue of the Sacrament did not extend beyond the reception. This struck at the Mass as a sacrifice propitiatory for the living. Ridley, however, did not go quite so far as the Archbishop in this matter, and called attention to the "spiritual participation amongst all the members of Christ in all godliness." In so far he approximated to the Catholic idea, although rejecting Catholic doctrine.

One special question put was as to the use of the vernacular in the Mass, and the majority of the replies manifest a disinclination to change. "If the Mass should be wholly in English," says Bush of Bristol, "I think men should differ from the custom and manner of all other regions." Worcester, Chichester, and Hereford, when further pressed by additional interrogatories, declared that "we ought to use such rites and prayers as the Catholic Church hath and doth uniformly observe"; and they based their objection to "the whole Mass in English" on the principle that "an uniformity of all Churches in that thing is to be kept."

As a result, it appears certain that at this time Cranmer did not feel himself in a position to press upon the English Church changes in the liturgy beyond the point to which the more conservative among the bishops were prepared to go. The result was the printing of "the Order of Communion," a booklet of three or four leaves, which, whilst introducing an English form of Communion, left the Latin Mass in common use as before. It was ordered to be introduced everywhere on 1st April 1548.

The change in the liturgy opened the door to many innovations on the part of the ardent spirits among the Reformers. The Council issued orders forbidding all unlawful changes in the liturgy, but at the same time allowing it to be understood that such alterations were not wholly displeasing to them. In fact, the policy of essaying further changes under the eye of the court was revived. At Easter this year (1548) "there began," as the Grey Friars' chronicle relates, "the Communion, and confession but of those that would, as the book doth specify." In May appeared a novelty in the cathedral church of the metropolis for which as yet there was no warrant. "Paul's choir and divers other parishes in London," writes Wriothesley, "sung all the service in English, both Matins and Even-Song; and kept no Mass without some received the Communion with the priest."

Also "on the 12th of May [1548] King Henry VII's anniversary was kept at Westminster; the Mass sung all in English, with the consecration of the Sacrament also spoken in English; the priest leaving out all the Canon after the Creed save the *Pater Noster*, and then ministered the Communion after the King's book." The sermon at this Mass was "made by Mr. Tong, the King's chaplain."

The description of this service at Westminster is strikingly like a Mass on the model of Luther's so-called "Latin Mass," with the addition of the "Order of Communion" put forth in the previous March. It is impossible also not to see in it a first draft of "the Supper of the Lord, commonly called the Mass," as it appeared in the first Book of Common Prayer issued the next year. The question further arises, What "Matins and

Even-Song" had been used in English by certain London churches in the May of the year 1548? Were they a translation of the daily varying offices of the ancient Breviary, or did they resemble the unvarying services of the subsequent Prayer Book?

From the Easter of 1548, which saw the introduction of the new form of Communion, the pulpit and the press were allowed full licence to attack the ancient doctrine of the Mass. What they called the "enormities" of the Canon were inveighed against, and chiefly because of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, which had brought, as one pamphleteer declared, "almost the universal world to open and manifest idolatry."

We may now turn to consider the next step in the "reform" of the ancient Catholic liturgies—the first Book of Common Prayer. It is usually asserted that this Anglican liturgy was drawn up by a committee of bishops and other ecclesiastics, whose names are given. It may be safely stated, however, that very little indeed is known for certain about the composers of the Prayer Book. We are aware that about September 1548 a certain number of divines under Cranmer were gathered at Chertsey and Windsor, "where they are to determine what is to be held in this kingdom about the Mass and the Sacrament of the Altar." As to the committee, all we can say for certain is that Cranmer was at its head; the other names usually given are mere guesses started by the historian Fuller in 1657—a century after the event. The same may be said in regard to any action of convocation in this matter so gravely affecting the religion of the country. Strype was the first ecclesiastical historian to assert, in 1723, that the convocation of clergy had actually approved the first Prayer Book. But

here again it may be taken as certain that convocation neither appointed any body of divines to compile the new liturgy, nor gave it any approval after it had been drawn up, whether before or after the parliamentary sanction.

The opening of the second session of Parliament was fixed for the end of November 1548. No ecclesiastical business was taken for the first fortnight; but the introduction of the Bill imposing the new Book of Common Prayer was preceded by a discussion on the doctrine of the Sacrament. The burning question was approached in the House of Lords on Friday 14th December, and the debate extended over four days. It is, of course, impossible to enter here in detail into this most instructive discussion, in the course of which the true meaning of the minds of the Reformers and the Catholics became apparent. The Bill came up for the final voting on Tuesday 15th January 1549; and, taking all circumstances into consideration, the opinion of the bishops upon the new liturgy may fairly be stated as follows: thirteen of their number were favourable to the Government measure; ten were opposed to it; whilst the views of the remaining four—the Bishops of Llandaff, Bangor, Gloucester, and Exeter—may be considered doubtful, although they can hardly be believed to have been favourable.

Before passing on to consider the nature of the new service and its relation to the Mass, it is worth while trying to see clearly what we know concerning its composition, and so forth. It seems practically certain that the bishops were called together by the Protector Somerset with the object of coming to some understanding about the proposed Book of Common Prayer.

(1) This meeting appears to have taken place in October, some time after the proclamation in which the first public notice of intended changes in the liturgy was made (23rd September 1548). For upon 29th October, John Burcher at Strassburg already informs Bullinger that "the Government, roused by" the brawling as to the Sacrament, "have convoked a synod of the bishops to consult about religion."

(2) The proposed Prayer Book was submitted to this meeting, and its terms to some extent were discussed, though the chief stress seems to have been laid on the "doctrine."

(3) The bishops present at this meeting did not agree among themselves "as to the doctrine of the Supper," and came to no conclusion.

(4) The assembled bishops all signed the book, except Day of Chichester; but this was on the understanding that their action was not to imply any assent to the doctrine of Cranmer and his followers.

(5) The objections to the book centred round this point: that the *adoration* of the sacrament was left out.

(6) It was allowed that many things were wanting in the book as submitted, and it was agreed that these should be treated of afterwards; thus affording an opportunity desired by men like Tunstall, Heath, Bonner, and Thirlby himself, of making it more conformable to the ordinary practice of the Church, from which, as the book stood, it was a departure.

(7) The book after the bishops had signed it was tampered with.

Beyond these facts some conjecture may safely be made as to the motives which induced the bishops to sign the proposed liturgy. The whole country had

been stirred up; it was a scene of confusion and wrangling, the continuance of which would seriously jeopardise "the unity at home in this realm." At the same time the Government had so managed their foreign policy as to make domestic tranquillity imperative. The kingdom was at war with Scotland, and there was in prospect a breach with France, against which country the Protector was unable, as Henry had done, to play off the Emperor. Thus, apart from the religious beliefs and designs of Cranmer and Somerset, there seemed to be an absolute need for some English Interim.

The real opinion of the Catholic bishops as to the proper solution of the difficulty is clear from the report of the debate and their subsequent action. And whatever judgment may be passed on them for signing a book in regard to which they had such manifest scruples,¹ it must be allowed that a difficult position had been prepared for them, and that at the time the appeal to their love of country must have come with great force.

In fact, it is hardly too much to say that the Catholic party amongst the bishops were caught in a trap. They were induced to sign a book which was wholly inadequate, on extraneous considerations and under a pledge for subsequent revision. They were then launched on a public discussion in Parliament, where it was calculated they would not dare to show themselves inconsistent. The expectation of the Government, however, was so far disappointed. And it is not wonderful that when their false position was made clear to the Catholic bishops, they, through Bonner, declared "there is heresy in the book."

Before passing on to consider the character of the

¹ Royal MSS., 17B. xxxix, f. 6.

new liturgy imposed on the English Church by the Act of Uniformity, some brief expression of opinion, formed after careful consideration of the available evidence, may be expected upon some of the more obscure points of its history.

(1) It is most probable that no formal commission was ever issued to compile the Prayer Book. Such a commission imposes responsibility and confers rights. This was not the method commonly employed in Edward's reign. It was a time of governmental formulae, one of which occurs again and again in official documents throughout this period of history to designate the persons engaged in preparing the liturgical changes. "The godly bishops and best learned men" covers as much or as little as those in power might please. Without issuing a definite commission, they were free to call whom they would, to what place they would, as well as to vary at their pleasure the individuals engaged on the work. In a word, it is doubtful whether any "Windsor commission," if by that expression it is meant to designate any definite body of men formally appointed to undertake the task, ever had any existence.

(2) Strype is probably right in considering that the "Prayer Book went through only a few hands." Whose hands these were is tolerably clear from the result; but the only positive statement that can be made is that Cranmer had the chief part in its inspiration and composition.

(3) It is most probable that the compilation was long meditated, and its progress to its ultimate form gradual. It would appear likely also that the Matins and Evensong in English at St. Paul's, and the English Mass at Westminster in the May of 1548, as well as the offices

in use in the King's chapel in September, were substantially those afterwards incorporated in the first Book of Common Prayer.

(4) For the "certain bishops and notable learned men" assembled at Chertsey and Windsor by the King's command, nothing was left to do but to put together and give the final touches to the material already prepared. The book thus completed was submitted in October, or in the early days of November, to the bishops. These two assemblages were distinct in regard both to object and the persons composing them.

(5) The report of the discussion in Parliament does away with any lingering doubt as to whether or not the English liturgy was approved by the clergy in convocation. Had such been the case, Somerset and Cranmer could not have failed to retort that approval upon Thirlby.¹

The Act imposing the new Service is rightly called the Act of Uniformity. It swept away the various ancient uses existing in England, and imposed under penalties one uniform service of worship and praise. In

¹ The same may be said of Somerset's letter to Pole—4th June, 1549—in defence of the new Prayer Book. He elaborately recounts "the common agreement of all the chief learned men in the realm, . . . as well bishops as others equally and indifferently chosen," "first agreement on points," "and then the same coming to the judgment of the whole Parliament . . . by one whole consent of the Upper and Nether House of the Parliament finally concluded and approved; and so a form of rite and service, a creed and doctrine and religion and after that sort allowed, set forth and established by act and statute." (Pocock, "Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549," ed. Camden Soc., p. x.) Is it possible to suppose that Somerset here, too, would not have pleaded the formal and synodical sanction of the Book of Common Prayer by convocation had any such been given?

this paper I propose, for the sake of brevity and of clearness, to confine what I have to say about the first Prayer Book to the portion of it called "the Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass."

In a general way, it may be stated that, up to the Gospel, the first Communion service followed, outwardly at least, the old Missals. At this point occurs a distinct break with the ancient practice. At least, as late as the ninth century, the Roman rite still observed the early practice of the offering by the people of the bread and wine for the sacrifice; and whilst this offering was being made the choir sang a portion of a psalm which became known as the "Offertory." The bread and wine thus presented were offered with ritual oblation by the priest, and the prayer now called the "Secret" was said by him. These prayers, which vary in every Mass, and which are still retained in the Roman Missal, express the idea of sacrifice and oblation. In the later Middle Ages private devotion introduced a number of prayers, all expressive of the same idea, to accompany the various ritual acts. Thus in the Sarum rite the priest is directed "to lift up the chalice in both hands," offering the sacrifice to Our Lord, saying this prayer: "Receive, O Holy Trinity, this oblation," etc.¹ The whole, therefore, of this action was called the "Offertory," and the verse of the psalm itself became generally known under this name.²

This entire portion of the Mass—constituting the act of formal oblation, together with the prayers, new and

¹ The Sarum rubrics are particularly emphatic in calling by anticipation the elements so offered "the Sacrifice."

² Cf. Lydgate's and Langford's meditation in *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, p. 233.

old, which accompanied it—was swept away in the new service of the Prayer Book. In place of it was put a verse of Holy Scripture appropriate to what was now done, namely, the collecting of money “for the poor man’s box,” which was called the “Offertory.”¹ At the same time the family to whose “turn it fell to offer for the charges of the Communion” made their donation in the ancient way into the hands of the priest.

¹ The whole of this question of offertory and offering is so confused, by the use of the same word in different senses in the rubrics of the Prayer Book, that it seems necessary to explain it somewhat at length.

(a) When the practice of presenting the actual bread and wine for the sacrifice fell into disuse, an offering in money was substituted. This partook of a certain ritual solemnity, and was not what is now understood by a “collection.” The people went up to the altar and placed their “offering” in the hands of the priest. The money was for his use, as he now had to provide the necessary bread and wine. This ceremony was known as “the offering”; or, as it is now called in France, the *offrande*. In the Book of 1549 the word “offering” is used in two senses: (1) of “offering” proper (P. p. 84, last three lines; G. p. 200, lines 12-14); and (2) the poor box collection (P. p. 82, last line; G. p. 198, last line of rubric).

(b) The difficulty is further complicated by the introduction of another provision. It was the practice in England, as it still is in parts of France, to bless a loaf of bread, which was then cut up and distributed to the people during the Mass. The bread was supplied by each family of the parish in turn. This “blessed bread” was now (1549) abolished, but the obligation was laid upon each family who had hitherto supplied it to offer every Sunday, “at the time of the Offertory, the just value and price of the holy loaf to the use of their pastors and curates, and that in such order and course as they were wont to find and pay the said holy loaf.” This offering was to be made to the priest, whilst the collection for the poor was being made in the church, “in recompense for the costs and charges he was at in finding sufficient bread and wine for the Holy Communion.”

(c) But this was not all: it was further provided that one person at least of that house in every parish to which it fell, under the new

The singing of the verses of Scripture appropriate to almsdeeds was continued whilst the collection was being made. And after this "so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the choir or in some convenient place near the choir; the men on the one side, the women on the other. All other that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion shall depart out of the choir, except the ministers and clerks."

It was only then that, without any ceremony whatever, "the minister" placed the bread and wine on the altar!¹ It will therefore appear that the ancient ritual oblation, with the whole of which the idea of sacrifice was so intimately associated, was swept away. This was certainly in accord with Cranmer's known opinions,² and the character of the change is unmistakable when the new Prayer Book is compared with other service books compiled in the same century.

To understand the full import of the novelty, it must be borne in mind that this ritual oblation had a place in all liturgies. It is, moreover, now known, by the debate in Parliament, that the word "oblation" occurred in the book when it was presented to the bishops for examination, but had disappeared from it before it came up to the Lords.³

arrangement, "to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other whom they shall provide to offer for them, shall receive the Communion with the priest."

In this way the word "offertory" has in English come to mean a "collection"; a sense which is wanting to the word in other languages.

¹ The "mixed chalice" was retained in the book of 1549.

² Cf. his replies to the questions on the Mass.

³ It will be understood that no opinion is expressed on the question whether or not the "lesser oblation" is to be found in the present Anglican Prayer Book.

After the Offertory, the Preface was, with certain changes, retained in the New Book. We come now to the most sacred part of the Mass—the Canon. Our present detailed knowledge of this goes back certainly thirteen hundred years; and hence we are sure that, with the exception of one short clause added by St. Gregory, the Canon has remained practically unchanged to the present day. This fact, that it has so remained unaltered during thirteen centuries, is the most speaking witness of the veneration with which it has always been regarded, and of the scruple which had ever been felt at touching so sacred a heritage, coming to us from unknown antiquity.

It is wholly impossible, without the aid of charts and parallel printing, to show how the English Reformers treated this sacred prayer, which was substantially the same in every Catholic liturgy. Whatever else it can be called, Communion service is certainly not the Mass in an English dress. Even in the eyes of the common people, it was so different that it was called "a Christmas game," and this although obvious care was taken by the compilers to preserve some outward resemblance to the ancient liturgy in the disposition of its parts. And when, on examination, the student penetrates below the surface, the systematic elimination of everything that is connected with, or suggests the idea of, oblation and sacrifice becomes at once apparent. The Canon, so far as ideas go is a *new* Canon. It offers *prayers* to God in place of "these gifts, these offerings, these holy undefiled sacrifices." It emphasises the "one oblation once offered" on the Cross by our Lord in the place where the old liturgy prayed that the "oblation" then made might "be blessed, counted, reckoned reasonable and acceptable." The very

words of Consecration, which had been looked upon as the most sacred of sacred words, were changed for a new form taken from the Lutheran liturgy of Brandenburg-Nuremberg, with which Cranmer was acquainted through his wife, who was a niece of Osiander, the compiler of the Church-Order.

If, however, the old traditional Canon was abandoned, as no one can doubt who will set the new Communion service by the side of the Missal, it is still obvious upon what lines the English Reformers wrought their changes. We have a complete model in Luther's "Latin Mass." In drawing up this, the German Reformer declares his intention was to purge the form of worship in actual use. "For," he continues, "we cannot deny that Mass and Communion of bread and wine is a rite divinely instituted by Christ." Consequently he allows the Mass as it stood in the old Missals, except what concerns the "Offertory" of the elements, and, what he called, the "abominable Canon." His great grievance against the Mass is that it has been turned into a sacrifice. If the first Communion service be compared with the Lutheran service, as conceived by the Reformer, it will be seen that, in all points but one, the two are similar. Luther swept away the Canon altogether and retained only the essential words of Institution. Cranmer substituted a new prayer for the old Canon, leaving in it a few shreds of the ancient one, but wholly divesting it of its character of sacrifice and oblation. Even the closest theological scrutiny of the new composition will not detect anything inconsistent with, or excluding, Luther's negation of the sacrificial idea of the Mass.

Looking, therefore, at the characteristics of the new Anglican service, and contrasting it on the one hand with

the ancient Missal, and on the other with the Lutheran liturgies, there can be no hesitation whatever in classing it with the latter, not with the former. Passing then from the Communion office to consider the other sacramental rites, this affinity will still be found to exist in so obvious a way as to leave no doubt whatever that the new service was composed under the direct influence of the Lutheran Reformation. This is, moreover, exactly what we should be led to expect by the letters and documents of the period.

But the Prayer Book in its first form was only a transitional document, representing the particular stage at which Cranmer had arrived in his education in Reformed Doctrine at the time when it was composed. Immediately after the passing of the Act enforcing the Prayer Book, it became obvious that something must be done to make the ordination service consonant with the doctrine as to the Communion service contained in it. As yet no change had been made in the forms for conferring ordination which were contained in the old Pontificals. But at the consecration of Ferrar to the See of St. David's, in September 1548, when Cranmer was assisted by Holbeach and Ridley, some changes were made in the old ritual. In the course of the following year, after Bonner's deprivation, the Archbishop held an ordination at St. Paul's, assisted by Ridley. "The old popish order of conferring of holy orders was yet in force," writes Strype; "but this ordination, nevertheless, was celebrated after that order that was soon established."

A bill for a new Ordinal was introduced into the House of Peers on 8th January 1550. It passed only on 25th January. Of the fourteen bishops present, five dis-

sented. The other thirteen were absent. The Act simply approved beforehand of the new Ordinal, which six prelates, or the majority of them, appointed by his Majesty, were to draw up. On Sunday 2nd February the Council proceeded to appoint "the bishops and learned men" to devise orders for the creation of bishops and priests. As no names are entered in the Council book, the actual members of the committee are, with one exception, unknown.

From the subsequent proceedings, it was certain that the book was already devised, and all that was left for the "bishops and learned men" to do was to agree to it and sign their names. For in less than a week after the Council meeting at which the appointment of the committee was mooted, on Saturday 8th February, Heath, Bishop of Worcester, was "convented" before the lords in Council "for that he would not assent to the book made by the rest of the bishops and clergy appointed to devise a form for the creation of the bishops and priests."¹

This statement of the Council register is formal, but it may be left to the reader to determine for himself whether in the space of six days it would be possible to draw up the new Ordinal and conduct the discussions to which so delicate a matter must inevitably have given rise.²

Heath could not be moved by any representations to give his assent to the proposed book. He declared that if it were imposed he would not disobey, but further he

¹ *Council Book* (Privy Council Office), ii, p. 84.

² Burnet considers that a digested form was already prepared, probably by Cranmer, which was submitted to the assembly. But the case as regards this is even stronger than he puts it.

would not go; and accordingly on Tuesday 4th March 1550 he was committed to the Fleet prison "for that he obstinately denied to subscribe."¹ Here he was confined for eighteen months. On several occasions he was brought up before the Council, which strove by every means to convince him that his position was unreasonable. But neither threats nor arguments could move him; and at length, on 22nd September 1551, he was brought for the last time before the Council and commanded to subscribe to the Ordinal "before Thursday next following, upon pain of deprivation of his bishopric." To "this command he resolutely answered that he could not find it in his conscience to do it, and should well be contented to abide such end either by deprivation or otherwise as pleased the King's Majesty."

By the very terms of the Act of Parliament, the "new form and manner of making and consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons" could not be delayed. It was already in print before 25th March 1550. Even as early as 5th March Hooper, preaching in London, had already seen the book, and expressed his wonder at its containing an oath "by saints." "How it is suffered," he says, "or who is the author of that book, I well know not."

It is unnecessary to examine the details of the changes introduced into the new form of "making and consecrating" bishops, priests, and deacons. Every suggestion of a sacrificial kind was carefully removed from the new Ordinal; and every notion of consecration and blessing, as well as all prayers which in the ancient Pontifical expressed the desire that Almighty God would send down upon the ordinandus His Holy Spirit for a

¹ *Council Book* (*ut supra*), p. 109.

definite work, were studiously, and of set purpose, cut out or mutilated.

The imposition of the new Prayer Book and Ordinal was soon followed by further changes, which gave additional emphasis to the fact that the "old order had passed," and that the Mass as a sacrifice was abolished by Act of Parliament in England. On 24th November 1551 an order in Council directed that, "to avoid all matters of further contention," every altar should be pulled down, and "the Lord's board, [which] should be rather after the form of a table than an altar," should be substituted. In the same way many of the advanced Reformers complained that the paucity of rubrics in the Book of 1549 enabled many to continue the old ceremonies, except where they were not absolutely forbidden. In fact, Bucer, in his book called the *Censura*, says that many of the priests continued to offer up the old Mass under cover of the Prayer Book services. Hooper and Ridley, too, complained bitterly of being forced to make use of vestments. The former declared—logically, it must be admitted,—that, having taken away the Mass "from the people," authority should take away "its feathers also—the altars, vestments, and such like as apparelled her."

How this advice was taken I need not describe here. Gardiner had now been long in the Tower, and he demanded a trial. He was taken to Lambeth in December 1550, to be examined by the Archbishop. In open court the Bishop gave Cranmer his celebrated "explanation and assertion of the true Catholic faith touching the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar." This was a refutation of Cranmer's book on the Eucharist published in the middle of 1550. To this Cranmer replied at once

and at length; but Gardiner's method of attack was calculated to annoy the Archbishop, for it consisted in supposing that the new Prayer Book could be, and must be, interpreted in a Catholic sense. Cranmer, of course, denied this most categorically; and, in truth, it is difficult to suppose that Gardiner was really serious. The Archbishop, however, even whilst the commission was engaged in dealing with the Bishop of Winchester, was making preparations for a revision of the new Prayer Book that should be unmistakably "reformed" as to doctrine.

There is no authentic or sufficient record of the persons to whom the revision was entrusted, although there is little room for doubt as to the inspirers and chief actors in the business. All that it is necessary to note in the present case is what was actually done, and especially with the office of Holy Communion, which was not only the one all important traditional act of Christian worship, but was at this time throughout Western Europe the central point round which all the controversies of the Reformation turned.

On comparing the first with the second Communion office, what is obvious at first sight is that, whilst the former, in spite of the substantial changes which had been made in the ancient Mass, manifested a general order and disposition of parts similar to the Mass itself, the latter was changed beyond recognition. Moreover, every minute point which in the first Book might perhaps, with some ingenuity, be twisted to a Catholic interpretation of the formulae, is carefully expunged in this second revision. It is not a little significant that everything in the early liturgy upon which Gardiner had fixed as evidence that this Prayer Book did not necessarily

reject the old belief, was in the revision carefully swept away and altered.

The date appointed for the introduction of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI was 1st November 1552; and there are evidences that up to the last moment changes were introduced with the object of lowering the reverence hitherto shown by the faithful to the Sacrament at its reception. As to the book itself, it will be sufficient to say that it is undoubtedly Calvinistic in its conception and in its doctrine. Even the slight outward similarity to the Mass which the first Communion service preserved, was now, as I have said, obliterated. To use the expression of one who lived at the time, the compilers of this new liturgy "had made a very hay of the Mass."

Of the ancient Canon, which the Apostolic See from the earliest ages possessed and had kept inviolate, nothing was allowed to survive. Great Popes like St. Leo and St. Gregory had inserted a few words with fear and reverence into this sacred inheritance of the Church. They would have considered it sacrilegious and impious to alter or reject any part of it. Cranmer and the Edwardine Reformers felt no such scruple. They mutilated, altered, rejected, and inserted to their hearts' content in the first Prayer Book. In the second they got rid of every portion, no matter how slight, that could give any colour to the suggestion that the old Catholic Sacrifice of the Mass had not been abolished altogether.

TABLE SHOWING WHAT EDWARD VI DID WITH THE CATHOLIC LITURGY

MISSAL OR PRAYER-BOOK?

I SARUM OR ANCIENT CATHOLIC MISSAL	2 FIRST BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. A.D. 1549	3 SECOND AND PRESENT BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. A.D. 1552 and A.D. 1662
<p>A Psalm</p> <p>Lord Have Mercy Upon Us</p> <p>Our Father</p> <p>Hail Mary</p> <p>A General Confession</p> <p>Introit</p> <p>Lord Have Mercy Upon Us</p> <p>Glory Be to God on High</p> <p>Collects</p> <p>The Epistle</p> <p>Gradual</p> <p>The Gospel</p> <p>The Creed</p> <p>Offertory (<i>i.e.</i>, of the elements)</p> <p>Collects</p> <p>Preface</p> <p>Sanctus</p> <p>Canon of the Mass</p> <p>(a) Prayer for the Church, Pope, Bishop and King</p> <p>(b) Commemoration of Saints</p> <p>(c) Consecration</p> <p>(d) Elevation of the Host</p> <p>(e) Commemoration of the Dead</p> <p>(f) Our Father</p> <p>Agnus Dei</p> <p>Priest's Communion</p> <p>General Confession and Absolu- tion</p> <p>Communion of the Laity</p> <p>Communion</p> <p>Post-Communion</p>	<p>Our Father</p> <p><i>A Prayer</i></p> <p>Introit</p> <p>Lord Have Mercy Upon Us</p> <p>Glory be to God on High, etc.</p> <p>Collects</p> <p>The Epistle</p> <p>The Gospel</p> <p>The Creed</p> <p>(a) <i>An Exhortation</i></p> <p>(b) <i>Texts on Almsgiving</i></p> <p>(c) <i>Collection for the Poor</i></p> <p>Preface</p> <p>Sanctus</p> <p>Canon of the Mass</p> <p>(a) <i>Prayer for the Church and King</i></p> <p>(b) <i>Commemoration of the Saints</i></p> <p>(c) <i>Commemoration of the Dead</i></p> <p>(d) <i>Consecration</i></p> <p>(e) <i>Forbidden</i></p> <p>(f) Our Father</p> <p>Agnus Dei</p> <p>General Confession and Absolu- tion</p> <p>Communion of Ministers and Laity</p> <p>Post-Communion</p>	<p>Our Father</p> <p><i>A Prayer</i></p> <p><i>The Ten Commandments</i></p> <p>Collects</p> <p>The Epistle</p> <p>The Gospel</p> <p>The Creed</p> <p>(a) <i>Exhortation</i></p> <p>(b) <i>Texts on Almsgiving</i></p> <p>(c) <i>Collection for the Poor</i></p> <p>(a) <i>Prayer for the Church Milit- ant</i></p> <p>(b) <i>An Exhortation</i></p> <p>(c) <i>General Confession and Ab- solution</i></p> <p>Preface</p> <p>"Blessed is he who Cometh" left out</p> <p>(a) <i>Consecration</i></p> <p>Communion of Ministers and Laity</p> <p>Our Father</p> <p><i>A Prayer</i></p> <p>Glory be to God on High</p> <p>Blessing</p>

NOTE.—The portions of the Mass which are retained in the Communion Service of the Book of Common Prayer are printed in Columns II and III in roman type. The parts in italic type are adaptations or new compositions.

THE QUESTION OF ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS ¹

UPON the question of the validity or invalidity of Anglican Orders a great many books have been written and much discussion has been held. When, as the outcome of the investigation in Rome, Pope Leo XIII, on 13th September 1896, declared that the Church must hold them to be invalid, many protests were uttered by English churchmen against this decision. The cry went forth that the Pope had outraged every good feeling by denying to others what he claimed for himself—Apostolic Succession. And from time to time since, this complaint of wounded sensibilities has been uttered by many. In the debate in the English House of Lords upon the Royal Declaration, which is admittedly offensive to Catholics, the Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Browne, defended the retention of the blasphemies of the King's oath on the ground that the Pope had declared the Orders of the English Church null and void.

With all due allowance for the feelings of those among the clergy who hold advanced doctrines and regard themselves as being "sacrificing priests" quite as really as ourselves, it is somewhat hard to see what ground of complaint any one of them has with the Papal decision.

¹ A lecture given at Notre Dame Univ., Indiana, U.S.A., October 1905.

In the first place, the whole matter was essentially a domestic question. The question was this: Was the Catholic Church to regard the English bishops and clergy of the Established Church as bishops and priests in the same way and in the same sense as those who have been ordained according to the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Catholic Pontifical? Surely the living authority of the Roman Church had a right—and, when the question had been formally raised, a duty—to determine the answer, without being considered either offensive or aggressive. Personally, I should not feel in any way aggrieved were I to be told that the united bench of Anglican bishops did not consider my Orders the same as theirs. I think they would be right in their decision; and, if they liked, quite right to give it. Their forefathers, the early English Reformers, made no secret about their sentiments in regard to the Orders of those they designated “Papists.” They wished the world to know that their reformed ministry was wholly different from the “greasy Orders” of Popish priests. And the world then had no doubt about the matter; neither has it, I think, now.

My purpose in this study is to try to put before my readers the historical groundwork of the decision given by the Pope in the bull *Apostolicae Curae*. Leo XIII points out that it is of the greatest importance to determine what had been the constant attitude of the Roman authorities in regard to the Orders conferred by the Anglican Ordinal. This is obviously the case, because if it were possible to discover how the Popes treated them at the time when all the circumstances were well known, we should have a very strong judgment as to their validity or invalidity. With the help of

certain documents, which I was fortunate enough to discover in the Archives of the Vatican, we are in a position to know exactly how these Orders conferred by the newly drawn-up Ordinal were regarded.

In August 1553—that is, hardly more than a year from the death of Edward VI,—Julius III appointed Cardinal Pole to be his Legate *a latere* for the reconciliation of England with the Church. He sent him, he says, “as his angel of peace and love”; and it is only reasonable to suppose that everything possible to smooth over difficulties in the way of the desired reconciliation would be done both by the Pope and the Legate.

One grave and obvious difficulty in regard to the clergy must have at once presented itself. The nation could have been absolved and received into the unity of the Church easily enough; it was possible to arrange the difficulties which came from the holding of church property which in the troubles of the two previous reigns had found its way into lay hands; the Book of Common Prayer, which had been made compulsory under Edward, had already been relegated into obscurity, and the Catholic missal was back in its old place in the churches. But it was obvious that under the Edwardine Ordinal, during the few years of its use, there had come into existence a body of bishops and priests whose status it was absolutely necessary to consider and determine. Thus at once, in regard to Cardinal Pole's legation, the distinct question of the validity of Anglican Orders was raised, and, in so far as was necessary, determined by the powers and faculties given to the Legate.

Pope Leo XIII puts this quite clearly when he says: “To interpret rightly the force of these documents, it is necessary to lay it down as a fundamental principle

that they were certainly not intended to deal with an abstract state of things, but with a specific and concrete issue. For, since the faculties given by these Pontiffs to the Apostolic Legate had reference to England only, and to the state of religion therein, and since the rules of action were laid down by them at the request of the said Legate, they could not have been mere directions for determining the necessary conditions for the validity of ordinations in general. They must pertain directly to providing for Holy Orders in the said Kingdom as the recognised condition of the circumstances and times demanded. This, besides being clear from the nature and form of the said documents, is also obvious from the fact that it would have been altogether irrelevant thus to instruct the Legate—one whose learning had been conspicuous in the Council of Trent—as to the conditions necessary for the bestowal of the Sacrament of Orders."

It is here useful to recall the fact that there were at the time in England two classes of clergy with whom the Legate had to deal: those who had been ordained before the publication of the Ordinal in 1550, and those who had received their Orders during the two and a half years that the new Ordinal had been in use before Mary's accession. In the faculties granted to Pole by Pope Julius III, we find these two classes clearly distinguished as (1) those who had been "rightly and legitimately promoted and ordained before their lapse into heresy," and (2) those who had received benefices, and so forth, although "not promoted to all, even to the sacred Orders and the priesthood." This distinction was commonly made and understood at that time in England; for Queen Mary, in a decree dealing with the state of things she found on coming to power, says that

"the Diocesan, in the case of those who had been promoted to any Orders according to the method of ordaining lately made, seeing that they were not truly and really ordained, can supply what was previously wanting to such men, if he find them to be (otherwise) fit and proper people."

The faculties given by the Bull of 5th August 1553 were amplified and extended in a Bull dated 8th March 1554, which included the former Bull and a Brief of the same date. In this the Legate is given powers to deal with all cases of men who have not received, or who have badly received, their Orders, and so forth, and with those whose ordination was null. "That the mind of the Pope," says the Papal Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, "was this, and nothing else, is clearly confirmed by the letter of the said Legate (29th January 1553) sub-delegating his faculties to the Bishop of Norwich." In this letter we find mention (1) of those "who have received their Orders from heretic and schismatic bishops, even though not licitly, provided that in bestowing them the form and intention of the Church was kept"; and (2) of those "who were not promoted to all the sacred Orders and the priesthood." By this last expression "those only could be meant who had been consecrated according to the Edwardine rite, since, besides it and the Catholic form, there was then," says Leo XIII, "no other in England."

This much, then, would appear to be absolutely clear; that at the time of Queen Mary, immediately upon the death of Edward VI, both the Pope and the Legate contemplated dealing, and having to deal, with two classes of the clergy—those ordained according to the old Pontifical and those "promoted" by the new formulas of the Edwardine Ordinal.

Shortly after Cardinal Pole's arrival in England, in February 1555, he considered that it would be best to send an embassy to Rome to obtain more explicit directions on many points, and to inform the Pope as to the true state of the case. The three ambassadors were sent by the King and Queen, and all three were called "most illustrious, and endowed with every virtue." One of this body, be it remarked, would have been peculiarly well able to let the Roman authorities know what had taken place under Edward VI, as he was Bishop Thirlby of Ely, who had taken a prominent part in the debate which preceded the introduction of the First Prayer Book of 1549. This embassy took with it a statement of what the Legate had up to that time been able to do to bring the country back to the unity of the Church.

The original document, in which this work was summarised for presentation at the Curia, was one of the papers I was able to unearth in the Vatican Archives when I was preparing, by the Pope's orders, for the work of the commission appointed to deal with the question. In this statement of what had been asked on behalf of the Cardinal, and what had been granted, one of the clauses relates to dispensations given to ecclesiastics for provisions to benefices and as regards Orders. These, we are told, were granted in the form asked for, with the proviso that on the return of those so dispensed to the unity of the Church, either the Legate or his deputy should make good (*restitutae*) their Orders, and so forth. Further, in explanation of the situation, the ambassadors assured the Roman authorities that there was no thought of "any change or alteration in anything pertaining to dogma or the worship of God"; which shows at least

that Pole had no thought of making any concession as to the Ordinal.

In making their request for a Papal confirmation of Cardinal Pole's acts, the English envoys, as I also was able to find out, presented a document setting forth the substantive part of the Edwardine "form for making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons." Thus we now know that the actual question of the validity of the rite was raised formally at Rome as early as 1555; and the rite, or rather the substantive part, was presented for examination by Thirlby, who knew better than most men its history and the intention of its compilers.

A further document, found with other papers relating to this embassy, was "a summary of what the Holy See was requested to confirm" in this matter. The third item of this document requests confirmation of certain dispensations that clerics, and so forth, "may be promoted to the Orders and benefices which they had received *invalidly* during the schism."

Before the arrival of the ambassadors, Pope Julius III had died; but his successor, Paul IV, received them with great kindness, and gave immediate attention to the important business upon which they had come to ask for the decision of his authority. On the 20th of June 1555 this Pontiff issued his Bull *Praeclara Charissimi*, a document of the first importance, which I discovered in the *Regesta* of the first year of the Pope. In this Paul IV declares that the evidence had been "diligently discussed" by several Cardinals, and that, "after mature deliberation," he confirmed and approved what Pole had done, and, in particular, as to his dispensations in the case of those who, under the pretended authority of the English Church, had obtained Orders and benefices in-

validly and *de facto*. Further, in the matter of these ordinations, the Pope declares that "those who have been promoted to ecclesiastical Orders by any one not a bishop or archbishop validly and lawfully ordained, are bound to receive these Orders again from their Ordinary, and in the meanwhile must not minister in the said Orders." To enforce this ruling, Paul IV twice in the Bull made use of the same form of words; which clearly declare that the Orders thus received are null and void.

"Who those bishops not 'validly and lawfully ordained' were," says Pope Leo XIII in the *Apostolicae Curae*, "had been made sufficiently clear by the foregoing documents, and the faculties used in the said matter by the Legate,—those, namely, who have been promoted to the episcopate, as others to other Orders, 'not according to the accustomed form of the Church'; or, as the Legate himself wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, *the form and intention of the Church*' not having been observed. These were certainly those promoted according to the new form of rite, to the examination of which the Cardinals specially deputed had given their careful attention. Neither should the passage, much to the point, in the same Pontifical letter be overlooked, where, together with others needing dispensation, are enumerated those 'who had obtained as well Orders as benefices *nulliter et de facto*.' For to obtain Orders *nulliter* means the same as obtaining them by an act null and void—that is invalidly, as the very meaning of the word and as common parlance require."

When the existence of this Bull became known in Rome in the spring of 1895, it was at once suggested that, although drawn up and entered in the Papal Regis-

ter, it had evidently never been despatched, since a document of this importance would have been certainly found in some of the English archives. I was, however, able in a very short time to dispose of this suggestion. On my way back from Rome to England, I remained at Douai for a couple of days, to see whether by chance any notice of this important Bull existed in Cardinal Pole's Register, now in the town library there. I hardly hoped to find any such record. These volumes had been specially examined for documents connected with Anglican Orders, by Canon Estcourt before writing his work on the subject, and it was scarcely likely that he could have overlooked so necessary a piece of evidence. But in this case I found that the unlikely had happened, and that a copy of this Bull *Praeclara Charissimi* was entered in Pole's Register, together with his attestation of having received it.

In order to remove all doubt as to the exact meaning of his direction about the ordinations of the English clergy, Paul IV on 30th October 1555 issued what is called a "Brief," or letter, declaratory of his decisions published in the former Bull; and in particular of the position of those who "had received Orders and benefices *nulliter et de facto*," about which the Pope had directed that "those who have been promoted to ecclesiastical Orders by anyone not a bishop or archbishop validly and lawfully ordained, are bound to receive these Orders again," and so forth. To make the sense absolutely clear, Paul IV now says: "We, wishing to remove all doubt, and opportunely to provide for the peace of conscience of those who during the schism were promoted to Orders, by expressing more clearly the mind and intention which we had in the aforesaid letters, declare

that it is only those bishops and archbishops who are not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church, who cannot be said to have been validly and lawfully ordained. It is for this reason that persons promoted to Orders by such men have not received Orders, and are bound to receive such Orders again from their Ordinaries."

This "Brief" is endorsed as applying "to some who have been ordained to sacred Orders in England"; and the docket, or note, on the back of the document draws a careful distinction between the two classes of clergy: namely: (1) those "whose Orders had been given by bishops not consecrated *in forma Ecclesiae*—the form acknowledged by the Church—and who could not be said to be rightly and truly ordained"; and (2) those who had been ordained by bishops ordained and consecrated *in forma Ecclesiae*, from whom, though heretics and schismatics in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, they had received the character of the Orders bestowed on them. It is clear from this that the Edwardine Ordinal was the reason for this difference of treatment in the case of these two classes. In no other way can these letters have had the practical result they were intended to have—namely, "the removal of doubt and the restoration of peace of conscience."

That this was the sense in which the directions were understood does not admit of any doubt, in view of the actions of Pole and his suffragans in regard to clergy of both classes. In his instructions to the bishops, the Legate ordered them "to take special care to make all ecclesiastics show the *titles* of their Orders and benefices." In the commission also, given by Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to his Vicar-general, John Cottrell,

dated 8th April 1554, the Vicar is instructed to examine into the state of those clergy who have married, "and likewise of those married *laymen* who, under colour or pretext of *the order of priesthood*," have unlawfully administered parish churches and taken on them the cure of souls.

In the same way, in the juridical processes against those clergy who had taken to themselves wives, great care was taken to ascertain whether they were *de facto* priests or not. In the forty cases recorded in the Harley Manuscript 421, in the British Museum, it was always the practice, before proceeding to any sentence of deprivation, to inquire whether they *had been ordained more than eight years*—that is, before the introduction of the new Ordinal of Edward VI. It may be useful to take some few instances of individual treatment, and first as regards the bishops. (1) Cranmer had received all his Orders, including the episcopate, according to the Catholic Pontifical; he is treated as a bishop, and degraded as such. (2) Ridley in the same way is acknowledged and degraded as a bishop. (3) Latimer likewise, and for similar reasons, was regarded as a bishop. (4) Bird, (5) Bush, (6) Barlow, and (7) Parfew were also all treated as bishops.

On the other hand, (1) Hooper was a priest according to the Catholic Pontifical, but was made bishop by the rite in the Edwardine Ordinal. He was not regarded as a bishop, and was degraded only as a priest, his episcopal character being ignored. (2) The same is true in the case of Ferrar. (3) James Taylor, made Bishop of Lincoln by the rite in the new Ordinal in 1552, is deprived "by reason of the nullity of his consecration." (4) The same may be said of Harley and (5) of Scory. The only other

Edwardine reformers who had been consecrated bishops according to the Anglican Ordinal were Miles Coverdale and Poyntet. These both fled out of England, and their cases never came up for judgment.

The same absolute distinction is made in the treatment of priests and deacons ordained by the rites of the Pontifical and the Ordinal. John Cardmaker, or Tayler, was acknowledged as a priest because he had received that Order as a Friar Minor, according to the Pontifical. John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, was degraded as a priest. Thomas Attolle, formerly a Canon Regular, was treated as a priest. Robert Samuel also, and a dozen others, were allowed to be priests, and treated as such, because ordained by the rite of the ancient Pontifical.

On the other hand, John Bradford was ordained on 10th August 1550, as it is expressly declared, "according to the manner, form and rite of this Church of England" by Bishop Ridley. He became a prebendary of St. Paul's on 24th August 1551; but, notwithstanding this, in the process against him he is styled *laicus*—layman—and in the formal condemnation, where the clerk had as usual written out the clause ordering his degradation "from every priestly Order," this is struck out in the original as not applicable to his case. It is well to note that Bradford received his diaconate *also* according to the new Ordinal, and thus in the Catholic sense had no Orders, and was *in faciem Ecclesiae* merely a layman. Twelve other cases of clergymen claiming to have Orders according to the new rite, whose claims were ignored, could be adduced to confirm the practice. Moreover, it was some years ago pointed out by the then Anglican Bishop of Stepney that a search in the Epis-

copal Registers had revealed fourteen cases (eight being in the diocese of London) in which clergy, who had certainly received Orders under the Edwardine Ordinal, had been reordained again, *de novo et integro*, during Mary's reign.

It is therefore evident, not only from the decisions of the Roman Pontiffs who were sufficiently informed as to the true state of the case by the English Bishops, but also by the whole of the acts of Cardinal Pole done "according to the mind of the Pope" (*ad mentem Pontificis*), that the Orders conferred according to the Ordinal made in the time of Edward VI were held to be *invalid*; and they were adjudicated *invalid* on account of the insufficiency of the form itself. The practice of accounting all Anglican Orders invalid is consequently nothing new, but from the first it has been the invariable custom of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Catholic Church so to regard them. "This practice," says the bull *Apostolicae Curae*, "is fully proved by the numerous cases of absolute re-ordination according to the Catholic rite, even in Rome itself." Moreover, on the occasions when the question was formerly raised, and the Apostolic See was asked to give a distinct judgment in the matter, it invariably took the same view and pronounced for the invalidity of the Orders bestowed according to the English Ordinal.

It is unnecessary for me to discuss these decisions in detail, but it may be useful to remind my readers that these judgments were not founded upon any question of doubtful historical fact. Neither the doubtful consecration of Barlow, the consecrator of Archbishop Parker in the reign of Elizabeth, nor the idle tale of that ceremony popularly known as the "Nag's Head Story," was a de-

termining argument for the adverse decisions. Speaking of the case of Bishop Gordon in 1704, Pope Leo XIII says: "Nor, in pronouncing the decision, was weight given to any other reason than the *defect of form and intention*; and, in order that the judgment concerning this form might be more certain and complete, precaution was taken that a copy of the Anglican Ordinal should be submitted to examination, and that with it should be collated the ordination forms gathered together from the various Eastern and Western rites." The Pope adds: "It is important to bear in mind that this judgment was in no wise determined by the omission of the *tradition of instruments* (from the Anglican rite); for in such a case, according to the established custom, the direction would have been to repeat the ordination *conditionally*."

In regard to this "tradition of instruments," a word may be here interpolated. As all students know, it has been assumed and is very commonly asserted that from the rise of scholasticism, and certainly from the time of the Council of Florence and the celebrated *Instructio ad Armenos* of Pope Eugenius IV up to very recent times, no one in the Latin Church questioned the ordinary teaching of theologians that the essential matter of Orders was this "tradition of instruments." Further, it has been asserted very confidently that, in view of this official opinion of the authorities of the Latin Church, many questions as to the validity of the Sacrament of Orders were decided in the light of this assumed principle. Still further, it is said, in regard to the question of Anglican Orders in particular, that the Anglican Ordinal would of course at once have been condemned, by men who held firmly to its essential necessity, because it did not contain the *traditio instrumentorum*.

As a matter of fact, and indeed as Pope Leo XIII points out, the condemnation of this Ordinal was not based upon any such point; and, as I showed some years ago in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1900),¹ the Roman authorities were perfectly well aware of the strong opinion which held that the tradition of instruments was not essential. All this comes out quite clearly in the acts of a commission appointed to deal with the Greek "Euchologium" in 1636, which are to be found in the Archives of Propaganda, and which prove that the Roman authorities were not quite so ignorant of the question as some people would like to think.

To return to our immediate subject. The groundwork of all previous decisions about the English Orders was exactly the same as that pronounced by Leo XIII on 20th September 1896, namely, the invalidity of the rite itself. To understand what this means it is necessary to know the history of this ritual and to examine into its composition.

The Anglican Ordinal was published by the authority of the crown in 1550, as a complement to the Book of Common Prayer which had been issued the previous year. It was designed to do in regard to the Pontifical what the Prayer Book had done in respect to the Missal and the Catholic Liturgy generally. In this latter book, as we know, the sacrifice of the Mass was rejected for a new composition based upon the Lutheran liturgies of Germany. The very words of Consecration anciently used were made to give place to a new composition taken from the Order for church service drawn up for Nuremberg, of which church the uncle of Cranmer's wife was

¹ See the next paper in this volume.

pastor. In the English Communion service, every care was taken by Cranmer and the other compilers to make it absolutely clear that the sacrificial character of the old service had been changed into a memorial of prayer and praise; and, whilst in the general disposition of parts it retained some outward resemblance to the old service, all mention of oblation and sacrifice was carefully removed.

The Ordinal came into existence in 1550, after the First Prayer Book of Edward VI had been for some short time in use. As all who know the history of that time will acknowledge, the sacramental view of Cranmer and the other Reformers had considerably changed in the "down-grade" direction toward the Calvinistic doctrine by the date of the publication of the Ordinal. This being so, there was no difficulty about attaching it to the Second Book of Common Prayer, which was frankly Helvetian or Calvinistic in doctrine, when it came to be published in 1552. It is consequently reasonable, and indeed necessary, to regard the Anglican Ordinal as giving a form of ordination to the ministry corresponding with the doctrinal teaching in regard to the Eucharist held by those that were its authors.

A critical examination of the ritual for the ordaining of deacons, priests, and bishops according to this new Ordinal, will show that in every particular the Catholic Pontifical was treated in the same systematic way as the Missal had been in the Prayer Book, to get rid of the notion of sacrifice and oblation. Thus, just as the destruction of the material altars emphasised the fact that sacrificial doctrine was rejected, so the word "altar" is in all the new rites carefully excluded.

In the address of the bishop, in the Catholic ordination

rite for a deacon, to those to be ordained it is said "a deacon must minister at the altar"; this is deleted in the new service. In the ordination of priests, the words of the bishop's address in the old Pontifical run thus: "To celebrate the Mass and consecrate the Body and Blood of Christ; . . . that they may know that in this Sacrament they receive the grace of consecrating . . . and may acknowledge that they have received the power of offering pleasing sacrifices, since to them pertains the office of consecrating the Sacrament of Our Lord's Body and Blood upon the altar of God. . . . In this appears the excellency of the priestly office, by which the Passion of Christ is daily celebrated upon the altar." None of these is to be found in the Edwardine rite. They are cut out; and, naturally, nothing like them has been inserted.

As regards the most important part of the rite, the *form* itself, this is what the *Apostolicae Curae* says concerning the Edwardine Ordinal:

"In the examination of any rite for the effecting and administering of sacraments, distinction is rightly made between the part which is *ceremonial* and that which is *essential*, usually called the 'matter and form.' All know that the sacraments of the New Law, as sensible and efficient signs of invisible grace, ought both to signify the grace which they effect, and effect the grace they signify. Although the signification ought to be found in the whole essential rite—that is to say, in the matter and form—it still pertains chiefly to the form; since the matter is the part which is not determined by itself, but which is determined by the form. And this appears most clearly in the Sacrament of Orders, the matter of which, in so far as we have to consider it in this case, is the imposition of hands. This indeed by itself signifies

nothing definite, and is equally used for several of the Orders and for Confirmation. But the words which until recently were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly ordination—namely, ‘Receive the Holy Ghost’—certainly do not in the least definitely express the sacred Order of the priesthood, or its grace and power. . . .

“In vain has strength been recently sought, for the plea of validity for the Orders, from the other prayers of the same Ordinal. For, to put aside other reasons which show them to be insufficient for the purpose in the Anglican rite, this one argument will apply to all: from them has been deliberately removed whatever in the Catholic rite expresses the dignity and office of the priesthood. And consequently a form which omits what it ought essentially to signify cannot be considered as apt and sufficient.

“The same holds good of episcopal consecration. For to the formula ‘Receive the Holy Ghost,’ not only were the words ‘for the office and work of a bishop,’ etc., added at a later period, but even these, as we shall presently state, must be understood in a sense different from that which they bear in the Catholic rite. Nor is anything gained by quoting the prayer of the Preface, ‘Almighty God,’ since in like manner it has been stripped of the words which denote the *summum sacerdotium* [high priesthood]. . . . So it comes to pass that, as the Sacrament of Orders and the true *sacerdotium* of Christ were utterly eliminated from the Anglican rite, and hence the *sacerdotium* is in no wise conferred truly and validly in the episcopal consecration of that same rite; for the like reason, therefore, the episcopate can in no wise be truly and validly conferred by it; and this the

more so because among the first duties of the episcopate is that of ordaining ministers for the Holy Eucharist and Sacrifice."

So far, then, in our examination of the question of Anglican Orders we have, it seems to me, arrived at *this* point: a new rite was made, from which every word and idea suggestive of sacrifice and oblation was carefully excluded. This exactly corresponds to the doctrinal standpoint of the compilers in regard to the Eucharist. The conclusion, then, is irresistible: that, in drawing up their Ordinal, Cranmer and the other Edwardine reformers composed a book for the appointment of ministers suitable to carry out the services designed in the Book of Common Prayer. Further, to illustrate the point made in the *Praeclara Charissimi* as to the want of definition in the words of the actual form used by the compilers of the Ordinal (and, in fact, until the year 1662), we should note the following facts:

In every rite acknowledged by the Church, whether Eastern or Western, three things are invariably found in the form of consecration of sacred ministers. These are: (1) a clear and explicit mention of the Order to be conferred; (2) a prayer for the grace proper to the Order; (3) the simultaneous speaking of the form and imposing the hands. These are found in respect to all the Orders of deacon, priest, and bishop. This is the case in the Roman Ordinal, the ancient Gallican, the Greek, the Syro-Maronite, the Nestorian, the Alexandrian Jacobite, the Armenian, the Syrian Jacobite, and in the Liturgy as it appears in the "Constitutions of the Apostles." In the Anglican rite, on the other hand, this definition is entirely absent in the case of all the Orders. It is true that in another prayer at the

end of the litany there is mention of "the work and ministry of a bishop," but there is no moral connection between this prayer and the imposition of hands. On the contrary, there is a long interval between them, and they are separated by the whole series of interrogations. Moreover, it is not certain that this prayer is always said by the consecrator.

A collation of the Ordinal with the Catholic Pontifical, just as a similar comparison of the First and Second Prayer Books with the Missal, reveals changes so startling that we are justified in supposing that, in the mind of the original innovators, the ministry they desired to establish and perpetuate was as wholly different from the priesthood conferred by the time-honoured Pontifical as their brand new Communion service was from the Mass. This supposition is turned into positive certainty on an examination of the writings of those chiefly responsible for these liturgical changes in England. And all that an unprejudiced reader can say after such a study is that *if* the old priesthood was not destroyed as the result of their work, it certainly was not the fault of the compilers that it survived in spite of what they did.

Let us take a few examples of their teaching. To take Cranmer first. We need not illustrate his teaching about the Mass and the Sacrifice: it is too well known to all of us by his controversy with Gardiner. This, however, is a sample of what he taught about the priesthood: "Christ's priesthood cannot pass from him to another. . . . Wherefore the ministers of Christ's Church be not now appointed priests to make new sacrifice for sin, . . . but to preach abroad Christ's sacrifice and to be ministers of His words and Sacraments." Again: "Christ made

no such difference *between the priest and the layman*, that the priest should make oblation and sacrifice of Christ for the layman. . . . Christ made no such difference, but the difference that is between the priest and the layman in this matter *is only in the ministration*; that the priest as a common minister of the Church doth minister and distribute the Lord's Supper unto others, and others receive it at his hands."

It is unnecessary to multiply examples of Cranmer's views as to the Sacrifice and priesthood: they are well known to all. One other quotation, however, is useful as giving very briefly and distinctly his opinion. Being asked by Henry VIII whether in the New Testament any consecration of bishop or priest was necessary, or whether mere institution to office was sufficient, Cranmer replied: "In the New Testament he who is appointed bishop or priest does not, according to Holy Scripture, need any consecration, but election or institution is sufficient."

Nicholas Ridley no less clearly condemned the Sacrifice of the Holy Mass, and termed the Catholic teaching "blasphemous." He declared that there was no priesthood but that of Christ, and no sacrifice but what He once offered. Further, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist had no grace except to such as received it rightly; that "The Lamb" was present only in a spiritual way. Ridley it was who was most active in pulling down the altars and setting up tables in their places, in order practically to eradicate from the popular mind the idea of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

Another of the makers of the Anglican Ordinal was Hooper. He, too, categorically denied the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, speaking of the Mass as a

"horrible idol." Bishop Goodrich, according to a letter written to Bullinger by Hooper, was in agreement with himself, Cranmer, Latimer, etc., as to his teaching on the Eucharist. He also took an active part in the destruction of the altars. Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, declared the Catholic teaching to be "the doctrine of Antichrist." So, too, Holbeach of Lincoln, who, in reply to Henry VIII, maintained the pure Calvinistic doctrine on the nature of the Sacrament.

The same views were likewise held by those divines who assisted in the revision of the Anglican Liturgy when it and the Ordinal were re-introduced by Queen Elizabeth. Richard Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, said that "the only oblation of Christ in the Mass consisted in prayer, praise and thanksgiving"; and, in regard to the priesthood, that "in Holy Scripture there is no consecration of bishops and priests, but only an institution to the office of priest by imposition of hands." Pilkington thanked God that he had "destroyed the Sacrifice of the Mass." Matthew Parker, Elizabeth's first archbishop after the settlement of religion, "ordered that the Eucharist must not be adored," and declared that the Mass was not a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and dead. Sandys, Bishop of London, speaks of the "Papist priesthood" as having no warrant in Scripture, and adds: "Antichrist is the author of that priesthood."¹

Of the Elizabethan clergy it is not too much to say that they would have rejected with scorn the notion that *they* had Orders in the same sense as the Catholic priests. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, who wrote about 1563, though he used stronger language, does not take

¹ *Sermons*, p. 411.

views different from those of the rest of his cloth. He speaks of the Catholic clergy as "shorn, shaveling, shameless priests"; and of the Catholic bishops as "bite-sheep" or "horned beasts," (in reference to their mitres), or the "Pope's belly-gods"; and he characterises Catholic ordination as "filthy greasing," and sacred Orders as bestowed by the Catholic rite as "stinking orders." He had no thought about belonging to the old Catholic Church of England, and had nothing but sneers and ribald language for men like Wilfrid and Lanfranc, Anselm and St. Thomas, the glories of that Church. Here is what he says about his own Orders: "In Durham, I grant the bishop that now is [*i.e.*, himself] and his predecessor [Bishop Tunstall] were not one religion in divers points, nor made bishop after one fashion. This [*i.e.*, himself] has neither cruche [crosier] nor mitre, never swore against his prince his allegiance to the Pope; this has neither power to christen bells nor hallow chalices and super-altars, as the other had; and with gladness [he] praises God that kept him from such filthiness."

In a word, no member of the Church established legally by Elizabeth would for one moment have thought of claiming to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice or to be a priest in the Catholic sense. On the contrary, all would have argued that both the one and the other were unchristian. Their acts and words confirmed their sentiments. Their denial was threefold: (1) a denial of the real and objective presence of Christ in the Eucharist; (2) a denial of the real and propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass; (3) a denial of the sacrificial character of the priesthood in the New Law. These three negations of what Catholics held and taught are obviously

bound up together, and follow one from the other in a strictly logical way. In this the English Reformers agreed in principle with those of Germany and Switzerland.

The acts and words of the Elizabethan bishops and clergy, no less than those who initiated the religious revolution under Edward VI, emphasised their beliefs. Altar-stones were everywhere pulled down with contumely, and broken up, or exposed to insult and infamy. Archbishop Parker even expressed his horror and indignation at ministers using for their communions chalices which had been used for celebrating Mass. If they kept the names of bishop and priest, it really was because it was a point of law, because many legal principles required it; and, even for emoluments and benefices, it was necessary to conform to the law of the land. I honestly do not believe that there was anything more than this in the preservation of the names of priest and bishop, especially when ecclesiastics and laymen were loud in explaining that their ministers were no "Mass-priests."

In this, Catholics were in full agreement with their Protestant fellow countrymen. They never for a moment admitted their claim to Orders in the Catholic sense; and the Catholic writers, in the second half of the sixteenth century and after, were unanimous in declaring their belief that these bishops and priests were mere legal and parliamentary clergy, without the true character of Orders. They made no mistake about supposing that sacraments given during the time of heresy and schism were not true sacraments. They knew what they meant quite well, and drew a clear distinction between the clergy who had been ordained as Catholic priests, although they had subsequently lapsed into

schism and heresy, and those who had received their ministry according to the Anglican Ordinal.

One example must suffice. About 1565 Thomas Heskin, a D.D., and a Dominican, wrote a book called *The Parliament of the Church*, and this is what he says on this very point: "Understand that in this new-founded Church there be two sorts of ministers that do minister the Communion. One sort is of the priests which, lawfully consecrated in the Catholic Church, have fallen to heresy; who, although they have authority by their Holy Orders to consecrate the Body and Blood of Christ, yet now, having neither right intention nor faith of the Catholic Church, they consecrate not. The other sort is of ministers made after the new manner. These men, though they would unwisely have intention to consecrate, yet, lacking the lawful authority, they neither do nor can consecrate, but (as it may justly be thought), having neither authority nor due faith and intent, they neither receive nor distribute to the people any other thing than bread and wine."

In like manner Nicholas Harpsfield, Harding, Stapleton, and a host of other writers, could be quoted to the same effect; and there can be no doubt that the stress of their arguments is laid upon the invalidity of the Ordinal by which the Anglican clergy were made ministers. Hence in all the controversy of those times, the Catholics were always taunting their Protestant adversaries with having "parliament bishops," deriving their authority and every other power from the Crown and State, and getting nothing from the Church, the Apostles, or Christ.

Of course the mere opinion of Catholics as to the Orders of clergy of the Church by law established would

amount to very little, even when the opinion of the Protestant divines practically agreed with them that they certainly did not possess, nor wish to possess, Orders in the same sense as that claimed by the Catholics. Still, when the views of those who drew up the new Ordinal, and of the first men who used it, are well known as favouring a rejection of the Catholic doctrine of Orders, it is not a very great assumption to suppose that they would not have had any particular desire or taken any particular care to keep the ancient essential form.

“For the full and accurate understanding of the Anglican Ordinal,” says Leo XIII, “besides what we have noted as to some of its parts, there is nothing more pertinent than to consider carefully the circumstances under which it was composed and publicly authorised. It would be tedious to enter into details; nor is it necessary to do so, as the history of that time is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church, as to the abettors whom they associated with themselves from the heterodox sects, and as to the end they had in view. Being fully cognisant of the necessary connection between faith and worship, between the law of believing and the law of praying, under a pretext of returning to the primitive form, they, in many ways, corrupted the liturgical Order to suit the errors of the Reformers. For this reason, in the whole Ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the Sacrifice, of consecration, of the *sacerdotium*, and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but, as we have just stated, every trace of these things, which had existed in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out. In such things as these the native character

—or spirit, as it is called—of the Ordinal clearly manifests itself.”

This appears to be the straightforward and common-sense view as to the Anglican Ordinal. As in the earliest times of Julius III and Paul IV, so now in our days, Pope Leo XIII mainly bases his decision against the reception of Anglican Orders as Catholic Orders upon the inherent invalidity of the form itself. Moreover, he strengthens this judgment by a reference to the history of the times when this form was drawn up, and to the opinions of those mainly concerned in the work. I have endeavoured to illustrate this interesting and important point at somewhat greater length. It remains to note what the Pope says in the *Apostolicae Curae* as to the Catholic doctrine of intention.

“With this inherent *defect of the form* is joined,” writes the Pope, “the *defect of intention*, which is equally essential to the Sacrament. The Church does not judge about the mind or intention in so far as it is something by its nature internal; but in so far as it is manifested externally, she is bound to judge concerning it. When any one has rightly and seriously made use of the due form and the matter requisite for effecting or conferring the Sacrament, he is considered by the very fact to do what the Church does. On this principle rests the doctrine that a sacrament is truly conferred by the ministry of one who is a heretic or unbaptised, provided the Catholic rite be employed. On the other hand, if the rite be changed, with the manifest intention of introducing another rite not approved by the Church, and of rejecting what the Church does, and what by the institution of Christ belongs to the nature of the sacrament, then it is clear that not only is the necessary intention wanting

to the sacrament, but that the intention is adverse to, and destructive of, the sacrament."

In other words, the case seems to me to stand thus. The early English Reformers rejected the Sacrifice of the Mass and all that the notion implied—altars, vestments, and priesthood. They drew up a rite of ordaining ministers, in which, by exclusion, this notion was strongly emphasised, and which was wholly different from the ancient Catholic rite. Further, there can be no doubt whatever that those who were responsible for drawing up the rite, and those who first used it, would have rejected with scorn, and by the use of the strongest language, any idea of making bishops and priests in the Catholic sense. Why, therefore, do their successors in religion—the members of the English Established Church, or those bodies which sprang from it—take it amiss if Pope Leo XIII, as the result of his examination of the question, came to agree with their forefathers in all this, and declared that, in his opinion, they succeeded in their design? He is not, be it remembered, the first who has come to this decision; for the same judgment had already been passed upon the validity of Anglican Orders by the Greeks and Russians, and by the Jansenists and Old Catholics.

TABLES SHOWING A COMPARISON OF THE ANCIENT PONTIFICAL WITH THE NEW ORDINAL, 1552

I

THE DIACONATE

ANCIENT CATHOLIC PONTIFICAL

1. **Presentation of Candidates.**
2. **Litany of the Saints.**
That thou wouldst ✠ *bless* ✠ *sanctify* ✠ *consecrate*.
7. **Address on the Office of Deacon.**
Inter alia to minister at the altar.
8. **Imposition of Hands with Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.**
9. **Prayer for God's Grace**
of blessing and consecration.
10. **Preface.**
11. **Vesting in Stole.**
12. **Presentation of Gospel Book.**
To be read "both for the living and for the dead."
13. **Prayer**
for grace to serve with "purity at the sacred *altar*."
14. **Vesting in Deacon's Vestment.**
15. **Gospel.**
16. **Mass.**

NEW ANGLICAN ORDINAL 1552

1. **Presentation of Candidates.**
Somewhat changed.
2. **Litany.**
Invocation of B. V. Mary and Saints with words *sanctify* and *consecrate* omitted.
3. **Prayer.**
New composition—refers to the diaconate of St. Stephen, but nothing about being filled with the Holy Ghost and power.
4. **Epistle.**
5. **Oath of Royal Supremacy.**
6. **Interrogation of Candidate**
as to his belief in being called to the office.
7. **Address on the Office.**
A long new composition. The word *altar* omitted.
8. **Imposition of Hands with**
"Take thou authority to execute the office of deacon in the Church of God committed to thee" (a new form).
12. **Presentation of the New Testament.**
15. **Gospel.**
16. **Communion Service.**
17. **Prayer**
for the good behaviour of the deacons thus chosen.

THE PRIESTHOOD

ANCIENT CATHOLIC
PONTIFICAL

3. Admonition to Candidates.

The purity of life necessary for those "who *celebrate Mass and consecrate the Body and Blood of Christ*—absolve penitents, and whose hands are anointed" that they may know that they receive the grace of *consecrating* in this sacrament—who receive the chalice and paten "that they may understand they receive the power of *offering sacrifices* pleasing to God, since it belongs to them to *consecrate the sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord on God's altar*." The candidate is reminded of the "excellence of the *priestly office* by virtue of which the Passion of Christ is daily *celebrated* upon the *altar*."

7. Imposition of Hands and Prayer for God's grace on the Ordinandi.

8. Preface.

Mentions the *Sacerdotal Grade* and the dignity of the *priesthood*.

9. Vesting in the Stole—Veni Creator Spiritus.

10. Blessing of Hands

to *consecrate the sacrifices* offered for the sins and offences of the people.

11. Anointing and Consecration

of the priest's hands.

12. Tradition of Instruments

the power to offer the *sacrifice* and celebrate the *Mass*.

13. The Mass.

14. Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.

"Whose sins ye shall, etc."

17. Blessing of the Ordained.

"That you may be blessed in the *priestly order* and offer sacrifices pleasing to God."

NEW ANGLICAN ORDINAL

1. Exhortation and Examination.

New composition.

2. Prayer for Candidates.

New composition.

3. Admonition to Candidates.

A new composition on the duties of teaching, etc. From this all mention or idea of the sacrificial character of the office is omitted.

4. Interrogation of Candidates.

5. Prayer.

6. Veni Creator Spiritus.

8. Prayer.

New composition. No mention of the priesthood.

14. Imposition of Hands with the words Receive the Holy Ghost,¹

"Whose sins, etc."

15. Presentation of Bible.

16. Prayer.

¹ In 1662 the words "for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God" were added.

THE EPISCOPATE

ANCIENT CATHOLIC
PONTIFICAL

1. **The Presentation of Elect.**
Mention is made of election to "order of episcopate," and that he is one "who is ordained."
6. **Interrogation of Elect**
as to the Faith, etc.
7. **Admonition on Episcopal Office.**
The Bishop's work *inter alia* is to consecrate; to ordain; to offer sacrifice.
8. **Exhortation to pray for Elect.**
9. **Litany.**
10. **Imposition of Hands.**
11. **Veni Creator Spiritus.**
12. **Prayer over Elect**
asks that God would "turn over on this thy servant the horn of sacerdotal grace"—speaks of one "elected to the ministry of the High Priesthood" and of completing "the sum of the ministry."
13. **The Preface.**
Sometimes called the "Prayer of Consecration," followed by the Unction.
14. **Prayer**
for him who is raised to the *Summum Sacerdotium*.
16. **Benediction of the Sevenfold Spirit.**
After which the blessing and gift of various episcopal insignia—crozier, mitre, ring, etc.
17. **Presentation of the Bible.**
18. **The Mass.**
19. **Prayer. Pater Sancte.**
Peculiar to the Sarum rite—mentions the *Summum Sacerdotium*, to which the Bishop has been consecrated—and begs that the fact that he has been united to the consecrators in the *Sacerdotium* may be a pledge that he be united to God in the future life.

NEW ANGLICAN ORDINAL
1552

1. **The Presentation of Elect.**
A new composition with some expressions from the old form, the two characteristic noted opposite omitted.
2. **Oath of obedience to Archbishop.**
3. **Prayer for the Elect (new).**
4. **Litany** (as in rite for deacons).
5. **Prayer (new).**
6. **Interrogations.**
New form—as to functions—to govern—instruct and teach named.¹
8. **Prayer.**
New composition.
11. **Veni Creator Spiritus.**
12. **Prayer.**
New composition with some slight expressions from the old rite: the characteristics noted opposite being left out.
15. **Imposition of Hands with**
"Take the Holy Ghost² and remember, etc."
17. **Presentation of the Bible.**
New form.
18. **The Communion Service.**
19. **Prayer.**
A new composition founded on the old prayer of the Sarum rite, but with the phrases as to the *Sacerdotium* omitted.

¹ To ordain added in 1662.² After *Holy Ghost* in 1662 was added "for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church."

A COMMISSION ON THE GREEK ORDINAL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ¹

WHILST in Rome lately awaiting the conclusion of some business in one of the Congregations, I obtained permission to make researches in the archives of Propaganda. Amongst the great mass of papers which passed under my eyes during the weeks I was able to devote to the work, one set of documents proved of special interest to me, as they threw considerable light upon the state of theological opinion on the question of "the tradition of instruments" in the Sacrament of Orders in the early part of the seventeenth century.

As all students know, there has long been a great difference of opinion as to what is the essential matter of the diaconate and priesthood. It has been assumed, and is very commonly asserted, that from the rise of scholasticism, and certainly since the Council of Florence and the "Instructio ad Armenos" of Pope Eugenius IV up to very recent times no one in the Latin Church questioned the ordinary teaching of theologians that the essential matter of Orders was the "tradition of instruments," *i.e.*, for the diaconate the giving of the Book of the Gospels, for the priesthood of the chalice, etc., to the

¹ Published in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, October 1900.

candidate. Further, it is asserted that inasmuch as this was practically the universal and official opinion of the authorities of the Latin Church, many questions as to the validity of the Sacrament of Orders were determined in the light of this assumed principle—questions which might have been decided in a very different manner had other and, as it is now believed, sounder views as to the matter of the sacrament prevailed. It is now unnecessary, of course, to say that this assumption made by some writers that the tradition of instruments was practically accepted by all theologians from the thirteenth century downward as the essential matter of the Sacrament of Orders, is as a fact not borne out by an examination of their works. These prove beyond doubt that teachers in theological schools, and above all the authorities of the Latin Church, were always aware that there was another opinion, and that certainly from the sixteenth century in any decision on the question of the validity of Orders what is called the scholastic view had no undue weight.

The documents I came across in the Propaganda archives fully confirm this opinion as to the full knowledge of the Roman theologians on this matter in the early seventeenth century. The Congregation de Propaganda Fide was established in 1622, and in the early years of its existence much of its resources and a great deal of its energy were occupied in the printing and publishing of books which would be useful for the work of spreading and defending the faith. For this purpose a press was established and types to print in the Oriental languages were prepared, and in the volumes of the *Acta* appear constant notes from which the history of the Propaganda press might be written. In 1636 a question was raised as to the publication by the Congrega-

tion of a new edition of the Greek *Euchologium*, or book of the Greek services and rites. On 4th March of that year Cardinal Barberini, then Prefect of the Propaganda, pointed out the need of preparing an edition of the Greek liturgy for the Oriental Churches in general and for those who followed the Greek rites in Italy in particular. It would appear from his statement that the editions of the *Euchologium* which existed, and notably that printed in Venice "post annum 1557," were considered to be faulty and required careful correction, and a Commission was thereupon appointed by the Pope thoroughly to examine the whole question.

This Commission came together for its first meeting on 24th April 1636, and so seriously did it fulfil its mission that it terminated its labours only in 1640, having held some sixty-five sessions. During those meetings the whole book of Greek rites was taken, part by part, and the matter and form of the sacraments as well as the ritual for the celebration of holy Mass was fully gone into. At the commencement it was agreed that, to insure full consideration, one member of the Commission should be appointed to act as exponent. He was specially to study the matter for discussion, and was apparently to take the side adverse to the existing Greek ritual. Father Vincent Richardus, a Theatine, was asked to undertake this part, and in the various meetings which followed his *censura* formed the groundwork of all the debates.

The fact of this Commission having sat in the seventeenth century was, of course, well known by the Preface of Morinus in his great work *De Sacris Ecclesiae Ordinibus*, which in one sense may be said to have been the outcome of studies undertaken as a member of this Commission. Morinus dedicates his work to the presid-

ent, Cardinal Barberini, and says that he was called to Rome in 1639 by the Cardinal, and a few days later was summoned to take part in "a Commission appointed by Pope Urban VIII to consider the Greek Euchologium." When he first took his place at the sittings, he says, the inquiry into the validity of the rite of Greek ordinations had begun, and he seems to imply that it was through his exertions, or mainly through the light he was enabled to throw on the subject, that the Commission was saved from making a great mistake in this matter. "It appeared to me," he writes, "not quite safe to settle a question of such moment on the teaching of the scholastics alone." In his view the members had no sufficient knowledge of Greek or of the Greeks, "nor had it entered into their minds to inquire what, how many, and of what nature the Greek forms of ordination were." It will be seen that in this opinion about his brother commissioners Morinus was hardly fair, although no doubt the arguments and knowledge of the learned French Oratorian had great weight with them. He was not, however, able to remain to the end of the meetings, for after having been nine months in Rome he was suddenly recalled to Paris by Cardinal Richelieu. "Why I was called back," he says, "I know not, but the order of such a man could not be disobeyed." The interest created in his mind by the discussions, however, continued after his return. The matter constantly occupied his attention and finally took the form of the volume prepared for publication in 1655, in which he set himself to prove that what "many of the scholastics" had taught to be the essential form of Orders were in the old rituals conspicuous by their absence.

From the *Acta* of this Roman Commission, to which

I now call attention, I believe for the first time, it appears that even before Morinus came to Rome the fathers were fully aware of the difficulties as to the scholastic view about the matter and form of the Sacrament of Orders, which indeed the mere examination of the Euchologium must have brought out. We are not concerned with the early discussions of the Commission, but early in 1639—in the thirty-fourth session—the question of the sub-diaconate was formally raised by the Theatine, Father Vincent Richardus. The point was clearly stated by the ponente: in the ordination of sub-deacon could the old form of the Euchologium be kept, since it ordered mere imposition of hands, whereas according to the Latin rite the Order was conferred by the tradition of the chalice without any such imposition? He quoted the Council of Florence, or rather Eugenius IV's *ad Armenos*, which he considered settled the question absolutely by declaring the tradition of instruments to be the essential matter of the sacrament. The ponente consequently strongly advocated the substitution of this for the mere imposition of hands found in the Euchologium.

A certain Cistercian, Abbot Hilarion, another member of the Commission, although admitting that the important question of the tradition of instruments should be most carefully examined, was himself of opinion that it was not necessary or essential, and that the matter of the sacrament was clearly the imposition of hands as found in the Greek Ordinals. As proof that the Orders conferred without "the instruments" had been regarded as right and valid, he quoted Clement VIII in his instruction *Super ritibus Italo-Graecorum* (31st August 1595), in which the Pope dealt expressly with the orders of

those *ordinati ab Episcopis schismaticis* according to Greek forms, and assumes throughout their unquestionable validity.

At this meeting Cardinal Barberini spoke "at length and expounded the ground of both opinions. As a practical conclusion he advocated the thorough examination of the question, because if the Commission were to advise that the 'tradition of instruments' should be insisted upon it was greatly to be feared that such a decision would be attacked not only by the Greeks, but by many of the Latins" who did not believe in their necessity.

It is obvious from the above that at this period in the sittings of the Commission the fathers were fully alive to the importance of the questions at issue in regard to the matter and form of Orders, and it was only after two more sessions, in which the discussion was continued, that the members determined, in order to sift the matter to the bottom, to obtain the assistance and advice of other skilled authorities. On 9th July 1639, consequently, three new names were added to the Commission. One was Father Anthony Hickey,¹ an Irish Franciscan, of St. Isidore's, Rome, and another the well-known French Oratorian, Morinus. On 14th August the new members for the first time took their seats on the Commission, which was then holding its thirty-seventh

¹ Father Hickey was doubtless proposed by Father Luke Wadding, who was at this time constantly consulted by the Propaganda officials. Father Hickey's portrait is painted on the walls of the "Hall of the Theses" in St. Isidore's with the following inscription: "Admodum R. Pater Fr. Antonius Hignælus, Emeritus S. Theologiæ Professor : Totius Ordinis Definitor Generalis : Vir in omni scientiarum genere conspicuus ; studio totus et orationi deditus : Diversorum author operum : Vita ac morum gravitate exemplarissimus."

session. The question being debated was, as Morinus indeed tells us in his Preface, the subject of the Greek ordinations, and the discussion of the sub-diaconate was again resumed by the ponente, Father Vincent Richardus. He, as usual, took the position of uncompromising hostility to the Greek forms, and in his rôle of *advocatus diaboli* maintained (1) that in the Euchologium there was not sufficient matter and form, (2) that there was no tradition of instruments which rendered it essentially defective, and (3) that the words used did not sufficiently signify the power of the Order bestowed. Further, that the form of words made use of was "*deprecativa et non efficiunt quod significant, neque significant quod efficiunt.*" Moreover, he could not accept the view held by some authorities that the essential matter of Orders was "the imposition of hands," for it appeared to him to be distinctly against the Councils, the ancient practice of the Roman Church, and practically condemned by the words of Pope Eugenius IV in his Instruction to the Armenians. In this opinion he was followed by one other member of the Commission, who also added that in his opinion there was no real distinction made in the Euchologium between the sub-diaconate and the diaconate.

The other five members, including Cardinal Barberini, Father Anthony Hickey, and Morinus, held that the Greek form was certainly sufficient, and that no change should be made in it. They gave their reasons with some minuteness, and briefly they amount to the claim that the imposition of hands was the only essential and necessary matter of the Sacrament. They refer to the authority of the learned Greek, Arcudius, whose work on this very question had not long before been published in Rome, with the approval of Roman theo-

logians and at the command of Pope Paul V, and their arguments are mainly drawn from the sixth book of the learned treatise. They maintained that this authority fully proves (*late probat*) that the Greek rites never had any other matter than "the imposition of hands," and that in primitive times there could have been no "tradition of instruments," since, to take the case of the diaconate, the book of the Gospels could not have been given, nor anything equivalent to it, by the Apostles in their ordinations.

The principle that Morinus advocated in the examination of the Greek liturgy, as he tells us in the Preface of his work, was that if the Greek rites were shown to be the same before and after the schism, then there could be no doubt that the Euchologium contained all the essential rites of ordination. If, on the other hand, it was found that changes had been introduced, it would be necessary to examine the nature of these introductions, or omissions, and to discover the intention which had prompted the changes. For this purpose Morinus obtained copies of the Greek ritual, certainly going back beyond the days of the schism, and satisfied himself that the Euchologium then being examined was in its forms practically identical with these.¹

Moreover, the upholders of the sufficiency of the Greek rites pointed out that although it was well known that the Oriental Church had never made use of any other form of Orders than the imposition of hands and prayer, still the validity of the ordination of Eastern Churches

¹ On his return to Paris Morinus told Goar, the Dominican, who was then engaged in editing the Greek ritual books, of two copies he had seen in Rome, better than those he had for the basis of his edition.

had never been called into question by the Latins: neither at Lyons nor at Florence had any doubt been thrown upon the reality of these Orders, nor the slightest hint thrown out that the Oriental forms were invalid. On the contrary, the Greeks had always been accepted as true priests and honoured as true bishops. Further, in 1254 Pope Innocent IV, in his letter to a legate who had been sent to Cyprus to end disputes which had arisen between the Latin and the Greek bishops in the island, went carefully into the question of the Greek rites. In regard to the Orders conferred by the Greek bishops he merely desired that the three minor Orders, not specifically given in the Greek ordinals, should be added "according to the custom of the Roman Church," and, in clearly admitting the validity of the Orders in general, says nothing about the necessity of any tradition of instruments. This position of Pope Innocent IV in regard to the Greek forms of ordination was, moreover, in full accord with his previous teaching in the schools. As the canonist Sinibaldi, he had maintained that imposition of hands accompanied only by some form to specify the Order, such as *Esto Sacerdos*, would be sufficient for the valid bestowal of sacred Orders.

The Commissioners, in order to show that their view as to the tradition of instruments was not necessary, was not a novel teaching, referred to the authorities adduced by the learned Arcudius and to the even more recent teaching of Hallier, a professor at the Sorbonne, who, whilst urging in practice the necessity of bestowing the chalice, etc., on the priest with the accompanying form, as signifying clearly the sacrificial character of the priesthood, still held that there could be no doubt whatever that imposition of hands was the necessary and essential

matter of the Sacrament. To the authority of Hallier the fathers of the Commission added the weight of "other more recent teachers," such, for example, as the admitted theses maintained in the theological faculty of Paris in 1633, 1639, and 1640. These are referred to by Dom Hugo Menart in his edition of St. Gregory's *Sacramentary*, and are amply sufficient to indicate that the trend of the then theological opinion was in favour of the view held by the majority of the Commission.

In summing up their arguments in favour of the Greek traditional forms, the fathers maintained that "the Sacrament of Orders was instituted by Christ our Lord in such a way that the consecration of ministers was effected by certain words, or symbols, or external signs by which the ministry to which the candidate was to be ordained was signified." The determination of specific symbol or sign, however, was left to the will of the Church. The one thing which at all times appeared as a part of the ordination services both in the Greek and Latin Churches was imposition of hands accompanied with prayer. Whilst the Latins had added to the ancient forms the tradition of instruments to emphasise the character of the Order more clearly, the Eastern Churches had left them as they were, and there could be no sort of reason why they should now be added to make them like the Western forms.

The majority of the Commissioners met the assertion of the ponente that at the Council of Florence Eugenius IV had settled the question once for all by a denial that the *Instructio ad Armenos* really taught what it was suggested it did, namely, that the matter and form of the Sacrament of Orders was the tradition of instruments accompanied by the usual form of words

and nothing more. "The Council of Florence," they say, "did not exclude, but rather assumed, the existence of the Greek rites and merely gave to the Armenians the more perfect forms which the Latins made use of in conferring the Sacrament of Orders." In other words Eugenius IV only intended in this *Instructio* to state what, in addition to the imposition of hands, which the Armenians already made use of, the Latins required *de facto*. It was, on the one hand, obvious that the Council of Florence and the Pope fully and completely acknowledged as valid the Orders of the Greeks, and, on the other, that when asked to state the Latin forms it was only reasonable that the Pontiff should give the additional rite of the tradition of instruments, upon which the teaching of the scholastics had insisted so strongly. It cannot be conceived as possible that Eugenius IV could have intended to suggest that the Orders as given by the Greeks were invalid, seeing that both he and the fathers of the Council of Florence admitted their validity. Neither is it likely that his words were intended to imply that there was no need of any imposition of hands since it formed an integral part of the existing Latin rite. This is all the more certain since the Pope and his successors, as the fathers of the Commission point out, most certainly continued to accept the Orders bestowed by the Greek Church without any tradition of instruments. Taken by itself, it is possible to misunderstand the *Instructio ad Armenos*, but its terms must be interpreted by the circumstances of the times when it was given and by the way in which the people of the time understood its meaning. The action of the Popes in regard to Greek ordinations leaves no real doubt as to the meaning to be attached to the direction. If, for the

sake of argument, it be admitted that the Pope did intend to lay down as certain the narrow scholastic opinion that the tradition of instruments only was the essential matter of Orders, it is still open to disagree with this opinion. In practice the Pope did not himself maintain such a view, as the mere fact of his accepting Orders conferred without this, proves beyond any possibility of cavil or doubt. If it was Pope Eugenius' opinion (which it is almost impossible to believe), then we may hold, as the fathers of this Commission say: "It was a practical instruction to the Armenians, and no dogmatic definition on the nature of the sacrament." (*In praedicta instructione definitionem de fide non contineri.*)

So far as the Commission was concerned this discussion seems practically to have decided their opinion on the question of the tradition of instruments, the sense of the members being clearly that the imposition of hands was the essential matter of the Sacrament of Orders. When in the next session, held on 28th August 1639, the rite of ordination to the priesthood was taken into consideration, the point was raised only in the general statement of the objections and difficulties at the conclusion. The point here proposed to the Commissioners as the first difficulty was whether the second imposition of hands with its accompanying form, "*Accipe spiritum sanctum quorum remisistis peccata,*" which was not to be found in the Euchologium, was not essential as conveying the powers of the keys to the priest, which Our Lord had bestowed on His Apostles after the Resurrection. Several members of the Commission argued against the necessity and adduced many strong reasons to support their contention. The fact that, although in the Greek forms there never was any such second im-

position of hands, and that nevertheless no one had called in question the validity of their Orders, was insisted upon. One of the Commission pointed out that theologians like Sotus and Valentia held that the Greek rite implicitly contained the whole of the Latin forms. "In this latter," he said, "the second imposition of hands was added at a late period to explain the nature of the sacerdotal powers more clearly." There were not two forms, but one, and it was certain that this and many other additions had been made by the Latins at comparatively late times in order to emphasise more clearly the nature of the Sacrament. This he concluded was obviously the case, since in the most ancient Roman form of Orders there was mention only of imposition of hands with prayer, and nothing more.

Father Anthony Hickey, the Irish Franciscan, took the same view most strongly, saying that it was not open to doubt that Orders in primitive years were always given by the imposition of hands and prayer. He suggested that as in process of time the sacrificial character of the Christian priesthood came to be expressed very definitely by the tradition of the chalice and with its accompanying words, it became almost necessary to introduce something so as to emphasise the ministerial side of the priestly office and the power of the keys. In the Greek forms, as indeed in the oldest Western forms, both were sufficiently expressed in the same form.

The discussion was continued through several sessions, some of the members allowing that they were doubtful about the point at issue; but Morinus expressed himself as clear that the second imposition, etc., was quite a late introduction in the Western Church, and certainly not

to be found in any of the ancient Greek or Oriental liturgies. Besides this point, upon which all the argument appears to have been on the one side, the question whether a deprecatory form, such as that in the Euchologium: "May Divine Grace make thee, N, now a deacon, into a priest," was raised, and its validity similarly maintained by Morinus and others, who laid stress upon the fact that all the Greek forms from ancient times had always been of this kind and had nevertheless always been acknowledged by the Roman Church.

Before the close of the arguments on this matter, in March 1640 Morinus had been recalled to France, but his departure does not appear to have changed the views of the Commission. In March, April, and May at the meetings a considerable portion of the time was taken up in resuming the discussion on the necessity of the tradition of instruments. Throughout one thing appears clearly: that all fully admitted the fact that this was not an ancient part of the rite, but a comparatively modern introduction, and that what had always existed from the days of the Apostles was imposition of hands and prayer, as then found in the Greek Euchologium. One of the fathers—Antonius Marulus—who had joined the Commission shortly before the close of the discussion, at great length summed up the historical argument by adducing examples of the admission of the imposition of hands as the essential matter of the sacrament during the nine previous centuries. In the course of the argument, too, various theologians were quoted, amongst others the Jesuit Martin Becanus, who taught definitely at the end of the sixteenth century that "Orders are bestowed by the imposition of hands and the word of the

ordaining Bishop";¹ that "there must be imposition of hands is absolutely certain and has never yet been questioned by any one," and that "the imposition of hands would appear to be the essential matter of this sacrament instituted by Christ; the tradition of instruments, on the other hand, would seem to be accidental only and introduced by the Church."

The position taken by the Commission generally would appear, then, to be the following: Just as Pope Benedict XV considered that in the Greek sub-diaconate all the minor Orders were implicitly contained, so the Latin rite had by its introduction of the tradition of instruments and the second imposition of hands only amplified and more clearly expressed what was actually contained in the simple imposition of hands and the accompanying words of the Greek rite and the earliest Latin forms. The latter had not really changed the form, but had merely expanded and extended it to give it greater significance.

This attitude of mind was mainly formed, as we have seen, upon the work of Arcudius. This learned Greek priest, a native of Cyprus, after having done much to help in the settlement of the Oriental difficulties, died at the Greek College in Rome, in 1634, two years before the meeting of this Commission. In 1619 he had published his folio volume on the agreement between the Greek and Latin Churches in matters of doctrine, etc. In this work, when treating the question of Orders, besides showing that the Greek priesthood, etc., had always been acknowledged by the Latins, although given without any tradition of instruments, he claims to prove that even among the scholastics he finds evidence of the

¹ His *Summa* was published in 1619.

principle that imposition of hands was the essential matter of the sacrament in spite of their common teaching. He bases this declaration on St. Bonaventure's opinion, who in his Commentary on the fourth *Book of the Sentences* says: "In sacred Orders, since a high and excellent power is therein conveyed, imposition of hands is used, and not mere tradition of instruments, for the hand is the organ of organs in which in an especial way the power of action resides. Hence in the primitive Church, where only the two Orders (of deacon and priest) were explicitly given, ordinations were conferred in this way."

Again: "To what has been objected on this: that Orders, as we have them, are given by the bestowal of the Book or chalice, we reply that as the (virtue of) every instrument is in the giving of it by the hand, so where there is no such tradition of instruments their import is signified by the imposition of hands alone. Hence . . . in the primitive Church all the Orders, which in process of time were made distinct and more explicit both as to words and signs and persons, were conveyed by the imposition of hands. . . .

"It is to be understood that there was always some word to express the fact that such or such a power was bestowed; but only in two sacraments did Our Lord Himself determine the special form of words. In the case of the rest, though some words are necessary, the actual form was not determined, but any words expressing the sense, in so far as it is *de ratione sacramenti*, are sufficient, so long as he who uses them does not intend to introduce any heresy. Now, of course, it is necessary to keep the forms appointed and approved by the Church. . . . It is untrue to say that in the primitive

Church there were none but *holy* Orders; the rest were implicitly given in the imposition of hands."

In some notes on this portion of St. Bonaventure's teaching the editors of the recent edition say: "Many of his contemporaries, taking a more strict view than St. Bonaventure, maintained that the character of Orders was bestowed by the tradition of instruments with the accompanying words. This is most frequently understood of all Orders, even the priesthood, which is given by the bestowal of the chalice with wine and the paten with bread, and the diaconate, conveyed by the Book of the Gospels. This is even said in plain terms in the decree *pro Armenis*. But, on the other hand, the friend of St. Bonaventure, Peter Tarantesius (afterwards Pope Innocent V) excepted the diaconate and the priesthood, which he asserted were given by the imposition of hands." The same opinion has been constantly maintained in the Church, either practically by the full recognition of Greek Orders, or by the teaching of some theologians, at all times. The Council of Trent refrained from settling this question on the ground that the fathers had not met to arrange disputes between theologians; but when treating of the Sacrament of Orders the Council implicitly supports the view maintained by Arcudius, since it speaks of sub-deacons being ordained by the bestowal of the cruets and of "priests *rite ordinate per impositionem manuum presbyterii*." Moreover, we know from the history of the Council that the question was formally raised in the session held in 1562. The Cardinal of Lorraine at first desired that it should be distinctly stated that the matter of the sacrament of the priesthood was the imposition of hands, but subsequently "he considered that where what is necessary for the Sacrament

of Orders is given it would be better not to designate specifically the matter and form; not because these did not exist, but because in this sacrament they could not easily be determined. On the other hand, he would like to see some mention made of the imposition of hands, since it was named so frequently in the Old and New Testaments. His opinion on this point met with universal approval, although finally, in order not to define positively that imposition of hands was the essential part of the sacrament, the more general expression "words and signs" was determined upon to state the component parts of the Sacrament of Sacred Orders. Still the imposition of hands was not wholly passed over in silence, since in the decree itself the words of St. Paul to Timothy: "*Admoneo te ut resuscites gratiam Dei, quae est in te per impositionem manuum mearum*" are quoted.

It must, of course, be borne in mind that the Council of Trent had already taught distinctly (Sess. 21, c. ii) that although "in dispensing the sacraments" the Church might appoint or change what was proper to their administration according to times and places, this power did not, of course, extend to their substance as determined by Our Lord. (*Salva earum substantia.*)

It is upon this teaching that many theologians of the seventeenth century, and in particular Morinus and other fathers of the Commission which sat upon the Greek Euchologium based their arguments, maintaining that imposition of hands was the essential matter of the Sacrament of Orders. In the West they say, in effect, that the earliest forms of ordination prove that imposition of hands only was used, just as we find in the Greek Church at the present day; and since "the essential matter of the sacraments is immutable, as the Council of Trent

declares," whatever the Church may subsequently order to be added by way of expansion or explanation, the essential matter of the Sacrament of Orders must remain to-day what it was in the first ages, the imposition of hands.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

A GLANCE AT THE FORMER POSITION OF ENGLISH AND IRISH CATHOLICS¹

HARDLY more than a century ago—that is, at the very beginning of the year 1801—Pitt, the illustrious Pitt, greater son of a great father, felt himself compelled to resign the office of Prime Minister of England because King George III obstinately refused to agree to the measure of Catholic Emancipation proposed by the ministry. At the present day, when for more than two generations we have been accustomed to enjoy full liberty in religious matters and to claim our rightful position in the State as citizens, it is somewhat difficult for us English, and more difficult for you in free America, to realise the meaning of that term “Emancipation,” and to understand the actual position of our English and Irish Catholic forefathers at the dawn of the nineteenth century. They were still suffering under the very real remnants of the penal code which had been designed to destroy them, and from which Pitt had pledged himself to his Irish supporters to free them.

Pitt was not alone in his desire to assist the small

¹ A lecture given at Birmingham in 1901, and printed in America in 1905.

and impoverished body of Catholics to obtain some relief from the intolerable yoke which they had borne so long with exemplary fortitude. For the last quarter of the previous century most, if not all, serious English politicians had recognised the essential injustice of the attempt to force men by pains, penalties, and disabilities to accept what their consciences rejected; and already some measures of relief had eased the pressure of the previous two hundred years. The success, in 1774, of Lord North's Bill, which practically established Catholicism in Canada, led Parliament a few years later to look nearer home. In spite of Chatham's denunciation of the "Quebec Act," as the Canadian measure was called, which he declared to be an overt "breach of the Reformation," Sir George Savile introduced a Bill in 1778 to relieve English Catholics from some part of what Mr. Lecky characterises as "the atrocious penal laws to which they were still subject."

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the hopeless condition to which at this time Catholics had been reduced. Ingenious repressive measures had taken the place of more active persecution, and the Catholic at best found himself an alien in his own country. Whilst the statute book still recorded against his property, his liberty, and even his life, laws which were ever held in terror over him, and which were at times, through spite or religious fanaticism, even invoked against him, he was sedulously shut out from all participation in the national life of his country, and all professions were equally barred against him. At first, and for generations, Catholics had struggled to free themselves from the strong grip of the State upon their throats, which was intentionally choking the life out of them. Like a suffocating man

under like conditions, some did not stop to think whether their efforts were right or politic, or could be justified by the cut-and-dried principles of casuistry.

It is easy for us, who do not feel the strong arm of the law ever threatening our existence, to criticise and condemn the action of this or that individual amongst them who, as he saw himself and others lying, writhing, helpless and dying, thought to make terms which would give them air and life and hope again. But at the time of which I now speak, even these bids for liberty were things of the past; and—to carry out my simile—the Catholic body had ceased to struggle in its agony, and lay breathless and almost without any visible sign of life under the mailed hand of the State, assisted by the studied repression and neglect of the Protestant nation. Hope had long since departed from the breasts of most; and almost the only prayer which in the records of that terrible time the historian can recognise as uttered by the rapidly dwindling body of English Catholics, is one for resignation and for the grace to be left to die in peace.

There were, of course, exceptions; but gloom and despair seem to have settled down as a black cloud over English Catholics from the middle of the eighteenth century. Those who persisted in acting and agitating were looked on, even by those for whom they fought and strove, as dangerous disturbers of a tacit truce, and as men who by their indiscretions might well bring down again upon the heads of all the rigours of active persecution. Sad indeed—terribly sad—was the lot of that band of the faithful few at that time. In all the chronicles of history I know of no page which records a more touching, a more heartrending, story than that of this

yearly diminishing remnant of those who had never bowed their knees to Baal, who had proved themselves ready to undergo the long-drawn agony of a life-martyrdom for the faith of their fathers.

"My thoughts," says the great Daniel O'Connell, speaking to English Catholics—"my thoughts turn to that period in your history when religious dissension assembled all its elements together, and scattered to the wind the faith and ritual of your forefathers. Sad, indeed, since that time has been the record of religion and its sufferings in England. He who would follow it seems to himself as though present at a shipwreck where naught may be discerned on every side but scattered and disjointed fragments—here perhaps the broken plank, there the shattered spar. But still the helm was left; it was fashioned of the heart of oak, and while that survived there was hope for those who clung to it."

But even hope itself had wellnigh departed; and in the darkest hours that went before the dawn of better times the thoughts of many hearts were but little removed, except by resignation to God's will, from blank despair. Still, some souls chafed at the situation, and were restless under the debasing and precarious condition in which they found themselves.

"Shall I," wrote one of the most vigorous of the malcontents—"shall I sit down silently satisfied, because the good humour of a magistrate chooses to indulge me, whilst there are laws of which any miscreant has daily power to enforce the execution? My ease, my property and my life are at the disposal of every villain, and I am to be pleased because he is not at this time disposed to deprive me of them. To-morrow his humour may vary, and I shall then be obliged to hide my head in

some dark corner, or to fly from this land of boasted liberty."

From time to time this did take place; and, as the historian of the eighteenth century has recorded, the poor Papist was forcibly reminded that the harsh measures of the penal code could still with a little ingenuity be applied to him. Some busybody of an individual—an enemy or a zealot—not unfrequently exhumed obsolete and half-forgotten laws for the purpose of extorting money, of gratifying revenge, or appeasing his thirst for the persecution of those who differed from him. In 1761 a lady was tried at Westminster to recover a penalty of £20, under a law of Elizabeth, because she had not been to a place of worship for the previous month. Down to the days of Pitt the law still adjudged £100 reward to any one who would procure the conviction of a priest. As late as 1767 a priest was tried at Croydon on the charge of having administered the Sacrament to a sick person, found guilty and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He actually lay in gaol for three or four years for his offence, and then was banished out of England. In the same year a chapel in Southwark was forcibly suppressed, and the priest escaped from the officers by the back door; and although probably Father Malony was the only priest actually convicted and sentenced for being a priest during the reign of George III, the attempts were sufficiently numerous to cause constant apprehension of what might at any time happen, and to render the position of Catholics sufficiently precarious.

Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden, the former in particular, incurred odium, and in fact suffered popular violence, for the way in which they set themselves as

judges to defeat the end of such vexatious prosecutions. In 1768 and 1769 two priests named Webb and Talbot—the latter a brother of Lord Shrewsbury—were prosecuted, but acquitted because their Orders were held by the judge as not legally proven; and another priest escaped by Lord Mansfield's suggesting all kinds of difficulties from the bench. So careful were the clergy to abstain from attracting notice of any kind that Dr. Oliver relates that Mrs. Lingard, the mother of the historian, who died in 1824 at the age of ninety-two, remembered the time when her family had to go to hear Mass at night, with the priest (wearing a smock frock to make him look like a poor countryman) the driver of the cart which carried them.

The position of the laity was no better. In 1770 Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, was indicted at the Assizes for refusing to part with his four coach-horses for a £20 note, under a law that gave the right to any Protestant neighbour to claim possession of any horse owned by a Catholic on the payment of £5. Another gentleman is said to have shot a valuable hunter thus claimed by an enemy rather than let him get possession of it; and though Sir William Stanley was acquitted by the jury, it was merely on the technical ground that a bank note was not legal tender.

As Mr. Lecky has pointed out, the position of every Catholic landowner was one of extreme precariousness. He was subject to a double land-tax; he was shut out of every learned profession and every civil position; whilst a commission in either the army or the navy of his country was refused to him. He was at the mercy of every common informer who could find two justices ready to tender to him the oath of supremacy; whilst

the oath of allegiance, which might have saved him and his forefathers for almost nearly two centuries had he been allowed to take it, was declared by the keepers of his conscience to be unlawful. Ground to the dust between the upper and nether millstones of the law and conscience, the lot of the English Catholic gentleman during the century about which I speak may well stir the deepest feeling of pity and evoke our unfeigned admiration. "They" (the English Catholic gentry), writes Mr. Lecky, "were virtually outlaws in their own country, doomed to a life of secrecy and retirement, and sometimes obliged to purchase by regular contributions an exemption from persecution."

The Relief Bill of 1778 was intended to redress some of the most glaring items of legal injustice which the Catholics had long endured with the fortitude of Christian martyrs. It did not effect much in the way of actual freedom, but it repealed such galling provisions of the penal code as that any Catholic bishop or priest could be summarily apprehended and tried at the Assizes for his sacerdotal character; as that any Catholic keeping a school could on conviction be condemned to perpetual imprisonment; as that no Catholic could legally inherit or purchase land in his native country. Still, no one could send his boy over the seas, say to Douai or St. Omer's, except in peril of the law; and every informer on conviction could still claim his £100 reward. A Catholic schoolmaster could no longer be put in prison for *life*, but he could for a year; and Catholic chapels and Catholic meetings of any kind were still contrary to the law. But it was the beginning of a measure of justice, or rather the beginning of the end of many measures of injustice; and Charles Butler, the trust-

worthy witness to whose account of the troubles of our Catholic ancestors we owe so much, has recorded that, "though the legal benefits Catholics derived from the Act were limited, . . . it [the Act] shook the general prejudice against them to the centre. . . . It restored to them a thousand indescribable charities in the ordinary intercourse of social life which they had seldom experienced." As a sign of their acceptance of this measure of justice, the Vicars Apostolic, on 4th June 1778, ordered prayers to be said in all churches for the King, and even directed that his name be inserted in the Canon of the Mass.

To obtain relief under Sir George Savile's Act, the Catholic was required to take an oath abjuring the Pretender and rejecting belief in any temporal jurisdiction or deposing power being possessed by the Pope. He was required to condemn the doctrine—supposed, falsely, of course, to be taught in some of the Roman schools—that faith need not be kept with heretics, and that all such heretics could at any time be lawfully put to death. It is hard to imagine that an oath of this kind could ever have presented any difficulty to the mind of an English Catholic, except in so far as it was a reflection upon his intelligent apprehension of his religion. Yet it was precisely there that the difficulty of arriving at any *modus vivendi* had lain for generations. The oath of supremacy framed by Elizabeth was justly rejected by all; but when it was explained by the authoritative gloss which rejected all the *quasi*-sacerdotal power of the crown, many Catholics would have taken it if they had been permitted.

James I never attempted to impose an oath of supremacy, but only one of allegiance, containing a

condemnation of the tenet of the deposing power of the Popes as impious and heretical. But this power was asserted by many of the canonists and assumed by the politicians as an axiom. Through them the oath rejecting it was condemned by the authorities at Rome, who issued an injunction that all priests who had taken it should retract on pain of suspension. This attitude destroyed every hope of the Catholic Church being able to assume any other position in England than that of a persecuted community under the ban of the law. The policy by no means commended itself to all the clergy, or to any great part of the laity; but the upholders of the deposing power were the most powerful, and in practice, though no article of faith, it became in England an article of communion. Thus time went on; the Catholic body continually decreasing under the ravages of a persecution bravely endured, at the call of the ecclesiastical authorities, in the cause of a theory (as to the Pope's dominion over kings and peoples) rather than for the dogmas of the faith.

The revolution of 1688 shelved the question for a time, by merging the Catholics in a political party which on other grounds refused to take the oath of allegiance to the reigning dynasty. In 1788 the prospect brightened. The question of the deposing power, raised anew, as we have seen, by the conditions of the proposed relief, was happily solved by the English and Irish episcopate. They first took the oath and then referred the case to the Pope, who can confirm many an act when done for which it would be difficult to accord previous permission.

Thus the question of the deposing power and of the oath of allegiance, which had troubled and divided

Catholics, was set at rest for ever. On which side lay the victory? It is time that the truth should be recognised. Now that we can look back from a distance upon all the strifes and quarrels of those days, we can afford to confess mistakes. We could almost smile at the strange contradiction of the final settlement, did we not remember what it had cost the English Catholics, and what tears of blood they were compelled, generation after generation, to shed for just one mistaken notion.

The Act of 1778 provoked anti-Catholic agitation, led to grave difficulties and troubles in England and Scotland, and culminated in the Gordon riots. It is in the attitude of so many Catholics at this time of trial that we have revealed to us in the most striking manner the pitiable state to which the long-endured persecution had reduced them. The laity were, with some exceptions, afraid of courting observation, and reckoned their obscurity to be their security. They dared not show their faces for fear of the law being called in to lash them back to their holes. They were, according to one who had every means of knowing the facts and who lived at the time, "very prudent, very cautious, very provident and very timid." Writing as he did in 1780, whilst the echoes of the riots caused by the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill were still audible in England, he says: "When the tumults of last summer were raging in the metropolis, the voice of timid Catholics was heard tremblingly giving counsel. 'For God's sake,' said they, 'let us instantly petition Parliament to repeal this obnoxious bill! It is better to confess we are guilty of all the crimes laid to our charge than to be burnt in our homes.' They even dared to carry about a form of petition to that effect, praying for the signature of names. 'We told

you,' continued they, 'what would be the event of your addresses to the throne, your oaths of allegiance, and your repeal of laws.' "

The Catholic clergy appear to have been hardly less timid. They were anxious to be allowed to remain as they were, oppressed by the yoke of penal enactments, on condition of being left alone. They were "educated abroad," says Joseph Berington; and were "bred up in the persuasion that on coming to England they were to meet with racks and persecution. They landed as in an enemy's country, cautious, diffident and suspicious." If they ever had a proselytising spirit, "it has long since evaporated or become very unsuccessful." It was the same in Ireland. "There," says the author of the *Life of Bishop Doyle*, "the higher order of Catholics sensitively shrank from participating in any appeal for redress, lest the very clanking of their chains should arouse those who had forged them to renewed vigilance and activity. Accustomed to capricious persecution, they trembled lest the recent relaxation of the penal code should be suddenly repealed, plunging them still deeper into the dark sea of oppression. The Catholic clergy not only held aloof, but deprecated any attempt to disturb the general apathy." They were submissive, humble, and inert; conscious that they were outlaws, they behaved as if they were convicts whose escape was only connived at.

Such was the state of mind in which the riots of 1780 left the Catholics of the three kingdoms. Some of them died of the shock; many left their religion, among others nine or ten peers, several baronets, and several priests. Most of those who came forward in public "strove to secure, by affected liberality, the smiles and

patronage of Protestants and especially of men in power."

In Ireland the Catholics, though forming of course the vast majority of the population, continued still under the heel of the Protestant minority. Though the revolution of 1782 had placed Ireland, ostensibly at least, in the rank of free and self-governed countries, "it left Catholics," writes Mr. Lecky, "with no more political rights than the serf of Russia or of Poland. In their case, and their case alone, land was deprived of the franchise, and the majority was wholly excluded by the small minority from every executive, legislative or judicial function of State. They as Catholics were debarred from all right of voting at parliamentary or municipal elections; and, though called upon to pay—oftentimes double—taxes, they possessed no means of controlling national expenditure, and were excluded from all share in crown patronage." "The law," says the same historian of this time, "marked them out as a distinct nation, separated from Protestants, and in permanent subjection to them."

In 1782, when the Bank of Ireland was established, the law of incorporation provided that no Catholic should ever be enrolled as a director, just as he was prohibited from holding any professorship, or taking up any position in the national army or navy. But already by 1790 the position of Catholics was very different from what it had been even ten years before. Though their keen sense of grievances unredressed had not diminished, "they were no longer a crushed, torpid, impoverished body with scarcely any interest in political affairs." Relaxations of the penal code had at least enabled them to live in peace; and industrial prosperity now retained in their native

country "enterprising and ambitious men who in a former generation would have sought a career in France or Austria or Spain."

"I know well," said O'Connell of the Catholic gentry, "I know well how difficult their position has hitherto been; how constantly against them the efforts of the persecutor have been directed; how for three centuries, indeed, they have borne the whole weight of oppression which crushed down their Catholic fellow countrymen even to the dust. The blood of their noblest members rendered its own red testimony upon the scaffold, in devoted vindication of that faith which the first missionaries to these shores had preached to their ancestors. . . . Others survived, but it was only to endure a lingering martyrdom, never to cease but with the natural duration of life itself. More happy far were those whose martyrdom was consummated upon the scaffold; for them at least their sufferings were ended, and they entered at once into their reward in bliss. But their less fortunate survivors saw themselves doomed, without reprieve, to lives of suffering, contumely, and ignominy of every kind at the hands of the basest and most ignoble of their Protestant countrymen. And they stood it nobly."

It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory estimate of the number of Catholics in England and Wales in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The account of Joseph Berington, however, is in all probability sufficiently accurate for all practical purposes; for besides his own means of knowledge, he relied upon the official returns made at this time to the House of Lords. In 1780, according to these statistics, the English Catholics numbered only 69,376; and Berington himself thought this too high an estimate, and that they were probably

hardly more than 60,000. Of these, the Bishop of Chester, who, be it remarked, strongly advocated Catholic Emancipation in 1778, claimed to have in his diocese alone (which of course included Lancashire) 27,228—that is, about two-fifths of the entire Catholic population. It was at the same time estimated that between 1760 and 1780, whilst in the diocese of Chester, where the general population had greatly increased, the Catholics had likewise increased by 2,089, in the rest of England there had been a slight decrease in their numbers. In many dioceses there are said not to have been fifty Catholics, in some not ten left in 1780, when the population of England and Wales was estimated at about 6,000,000. In other words, the Catholics formed little more than one per cent. of the English people.

The particulars which Berington gives are distressing reading. In the west, South Wales, and some of the Midland counties, he says, “there is scarcely a Catholic to be found.” The residences of the priests give indications of the whereabouts of Catholics, so there is every means of ascertaining the facts. After London, the greatest number were in Lancashire, Staffordshire, and in the northern counties. Some large manufacturing towns, such as Norwich, Manchester, Liverpool, Wolverhampton, and Newcastle, had chapels which were reported to be rather crowded. In some few towns, particularly in Coventry, the number of Catholics had increased, but not in proportion to the general population. Excepting in the large towns and out of Lancashire, the chief situation of Catholics was in the neighbourhood of the old families of that persuasion. They were the servants and the children of servants, who had married from these families, and who chose to remain round the old mansion

for the convenience of prayers, and because they hoped to secure favour and assistance from their former masters.

As a body, in the opinion of this same writer, who had taken considerable pains to arrive at the truth, Catholics had rapidly decreased during the eighteenth century; and the shrinkage was still going on. Many congregations had disappeared altogether; and in one district, he says, "with which I am acquainted, eight out of thirteen missionary centres are come to nothing, nor have new ones risen to make up in any proportion their loss. I recollect," he adds, "the names of at least ten noble families that within these sixty years have either conformed or are extinct, besides many commoners of distinction and fortune." At the time when he wrote (1780) there were "but seven peers" who remained Catholic; and before the second edition of his pamphlet in 1781, Lord Teynham having died, his son had taken the oath and entered Parliament; and the eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk—the Earl of Surrey—had conformed. Besides these peers, the Catholics could count twenty-two baronets and about a hundred and fifty gentlemen of property. Some few were men of wealth, but the rest were so impoverished that they possessed an average income of only £1,000 a year.

As regards the number of clergy, Berington estimates them at about three hundred and sixty, "which I think," he says, "is accurate." In the Midland district in 1781 there were fourteen mission stations vacant, and some families had to go five and even ten miles to chapel. The whole district was declining, and contained only about 8,460 Catholics, hardly more than two-thirds of their number thirty or forty years before. In 1816 Bishop Milner puts the number of missions in this dis-

trict at 120, and the entire Catholic population at 15,000. Ten years later it is put at 100,000 in round figures. The Western district, comprising eight English counties together with North and South Wales, had only forty-four priests to serve it, and the Catholics were said to be very few.

In 1773 Bishop Walmesley, the Vicar Apostolic, gives exactly the same number of priests; and the total number of souls under his care he puts at 3,195. Forty-two years later, in 1815, the number is given as 5,500, served by forty-three priests. Even the London district, extending over nine counties in the south of England, is reported, in 1780, to have but fifty-eight priests to serve for all purposes. There were then vacant five places for which no priest could be found, and Catholics were said to be dying out in all parts except the metropolis. In 1814 Dr. Poynter sent a minute return to Propaganda about this district. London itself was then served by thirty-one priests, ministering in twelve chapels to an estimated Catholic population of 49,800. In the country parts of the district the Catholics were put at 18,976. In 1826 a map in the archives of Propaganda gives 200,000 Catholics in the entire district; and in 1837 Bishop Griffiths states that he estimates the Catholics of London at 146,000, the general population of the city being then about 1,500,000.

As regards schools for boys, the mitigation in the penalties for keeping such establishments did not, for some few years, lead to any visible increase in their numbers. Berington knew of only three of any note in 1781: "one in Hertfordshire (that is, Standon, now Old Hall), one near Birmingham in Warwickshire, and one near Wolverhampton in Staffordshire." In London he

records the existence of some small day-schools for boys, adding: "In other parts there may be perhaps little establishments where an old woman gives lectures on the Hornbook and the art of spelling." For girls, he knew only of the two long-established schools at Hammersmith and at York.

The first advertisement of anything like a Catholic school appears in the *Laity's Catholic Directory* for 1789. It runs as follows: "At Bridzor, near Wardour Castle, Wilts.—Mr. Jones, writing master and accomptant, begs leave to inform parents and guardians of children that he has taken a genteel and commodious house for the reception of boarders, whom he instructs in reading, writing and accompts, at the cost yearly of eleven guineas, payable quarterly in advance. Mrs. Jones looks after the comforts of the pupils, and undertakes to instruct a limited number of girls in the mysteries of housekeeping." The following year, besides Mr. Jones's notice we have this one: "Mr. Besley has removed his useful academy for young gentlemen from Chelsea to the spacious and well-situated mansion, Shrewsbury House, Isleworth, Middlesex, about eight miles from London." From this time the list of advertisements for schools constantly grows larger and more detailed, until it is augmented into almost its present proportions by the advent of the colleges from abroad driven over to their native land by the great Revolution.

Such, briefly, was the position of Catholics after the Gordon riots. The bolder spirits amongst them were not daunted by the outburst of fanaticism which the small instalment of relief had called forth from the latent Protestantism of the land. They continued their agitation, and in February 1788 a committee of English

Catholics appealed directly to Pitt to help them. Pitt replied by asking them to collect evidence of the opinions of the Catholic clergy and of recognised Catholic universities in regard to the Pope's deposing power. This they did, and obtained from the Sorbonne, Douai, Louvain, Salamanca, and elsewhere declarations against the teaching of that opinion. Acting upon this, the great body of Catholics, including the Vicars Apostolic and almost all the clergy, signed the protestation.

This led in 1791 to a further measure of relief being proposed to Parliament. By this Bill, the legal profession, from barrister downward, was thrown open to Catholics. Catholic chapels and Catholic schools were tolerated and legalised. Catholics were freed from the irksome, expensive, and inquisitorial process of enrolling the deeds of their estates in the Court of Chancery. Catholics could no longer be summoned at will by magistrates to take the oath of supremacy or make the declaration against Transubstantiation, and they could not be forcibly removed from London and Westminster. This was something; but, after all, it was only another instalment of bare justice; for Catholic churches and schools were still to be registered, as well as all Catholic priests and teachers. No Catholic assembly could be held with closed doors; no Catholic chapel could have a steeple or a bell; no Catholic school could be endowed, and no monastic Order could be established in England.

When the Bill of 1791 passed into law, the Vicars Apostolic caused to be read in all Catholic chapel charges in which they state that, on their petition, the oath required had been changed by Parliament to what had already been taken by Irish Catholics in 1774. This

being so, the Vicars Apostolic declare that all may take it with a safe conscience. The pastorals or charges are set forth at length in the *Catholic Directory* of 1792; and the form of oath given explicitly rejects the deposing power, and the supposed teaching that no faith is to be kept with heretics.

The further progress of Emancipation was now only a question of time. Many influences were at work on the minds of English statesmen which assisted the efforts of the band of English Catholics who were determined to carry the full measure of justice in spite of every obstacle put in their way. The French Revolution came as an object lesson to English statesmen, and made them realise that the Catholic Church in reality made for law and order, and that it was opposed to the spirit of revolution which seemed to have gained so serious a foothold in Europe generally. During the pontificates of Benedict XIV and his three immediate successors the influence of the Catholic priesthood had been uniformly employed to support authority; whilst, as Mr. Lecky points out, nearly all the political insurrections had been among those professing Protestant principles. Edmund Burke used the power of his eloquence in favour of the Catholic cause, and, pointing to the attitude of the French revolutionary party toward the Church, said: "If the Catholic religion is destroyed by the infidels, it is a most contemptible and absurd idea that this or any other Protestant church can survive the event."

The hospitality extended by England to the French exiles, and in particular to the Catholic priests who were driven out of their country by the Revolution, did much to familiarise the people generally with Catholics

and the Catholic clergy, and to teach them that many of the stories they had been taught, either through prejudice or ignorance, to believe about us and our religion were obviously untrue in fact. In September and October 1792 more than 6,000 French bishops and priests had been received in England; and the number was shortly after increased to over 8,000. Collections for their assistance and support were made in almost every parish church in Protestant England, and at one time some 660 were lodged in the old Royal Palace at Winchester. Then came the pressure put upon Pitt by his Irish supporters, which led to his proposal in 1801 of a full measure of Catholic Emancipation. This failed for a time, through the King's refusal to countenance such a concession, and led, as I have said, to Pitt's resignation of office a hundred years ago.

It is not my purpose, of course, to continue the story of the struggle for liberty beyond the beginning of the nineteenth century. The history of the controversy that was waged in the first quarter of that century, which ended in the Emancipation Act of 1829, is sufficiently well known to all.

What the Church in England has become during the hundred years which have elapsed since the fall of Pitt we can judge for ourselves. The troubles and struggles, the misunderstandings and harsh words of those who, like Joseph Berington and Charles Butler and Bishop Milner, were fighting in different ways for the same cause, seem far enough away from us now, but were stern realities when the century began. When we recall the state to which the long years of existence under the penal laws had reduced the Catholic body in England at the dawn of the nineteenth century, which I have

tried briefly to recall to your minds, we may well wonder at what has been accomplished. Who shall say how it has all come about? Where out of our poverty has come, for instance, the sum of money which has sufficed for all the innumerable needs which had to be met, and which has enabled us to take up the position in the country in which we find ourselves to-day? Churches and colleges and schools, monastic houses and convents, have had to be built, and the support of all these has had to be secured. How, the Providence of God can alone explain. There have been many mistakes and many losses, inevitable during such a century of reconstruction as we have passed through. It is not for us to say whether we have gained on the whole or whether we have lost on the whole, provided that we as Catholics have done and are doing our duty to God and His Church. Work is the only test; and, looking back, there is sufficient evidence of this in England to make us thankful to God for His mercies.

At the beginning, no doubt, the stress and struggle were great, and Catholics found that legal emancipation did not necessarily mean social equality. The first was in the power of the law to give, the second had to be won in process of time. Has it been yet fully conceded by our non-Catholic fellow countrymen? I fancy many would say that it never has been, and that some of our fellow countrymen still regard Catholics as a caste—a caste to be avoided. Still, by the full measure of Emancipation, Catholics ceased to be a distinct party in the State. At the first annual meeting of the Catholic Institute held on 6th June 1839, ten years after the Emancipation Bill had passed into law, Mr. Charles Weld declared “that it was the passing of that very bill that

rendered this Institute necessary. Up to that time the Catholics of Great Britain were bound together by the hard chain of common sufferings, and still more effectually by their absolute moral separation from the rest of their countrymen. Emancipation came. We were no longer a party, nor the subject of a party: we became part of the people. The bonds which had kept us together were those of misfortune; and when the external pressure was removed, each went his way into his own proper rank of society, to share in those pursuits of mercantile, professional, and political interest which were now for the first time opened to him. Our late friends departed from us. . . . We were each left to our own resources. . . . It was here that the horrible effects of the penal laws showed themselves. During the paroxysms of suffering we had not seemed so weak as in the languor that followed them."

The process of building up has been necessarily slow and painful, and very gradually indeed have English Catholics come out into the light of day from the hiding-places into which persecution had driven them. Many of us can remember, even in our own days, indications of the traditional horror Catholics had of publicity. It was not till about 1825 that our priests began to wear cassocks even indoors, and many a religious still living has had to take his vows to God in churches with closed doors.

Though a list of chapels in and round London, about eighteen in all, appears in the *Laity's Directory* for 1793—that is after the Relief Bill of 1791—no list of priests' names was printed till 1806. Even in 1793 a warning is issued in the same *Directory* that Catholics may find themselves in serious difficulties with the

Custom House officers if they attempt to bring into England such things as Agnus Deis, crosses, primers, or missals. The first advertisement for money to help to build any church or chapel was, so far as I know, that which appeared in 1791 on behalf of the chapel of St. George's Fields, London. In 1807 a notice "to the nobility, gentry," etc., states that "the Catholics of the city of Coventry beg to say that by the death of the late Mrs. Latham, in whose house their chapel has hitherto been, they are now altogether deprived of a place of worship." They consequently appeal for funds to build some kind of a place for themselves. The following year the Vicar Apostolic of the Midland district, Dr. Milner, appointed a second priest to minister in the populous city of Birmingham; and a room was taken at No. 14 Bath Street by Edward Peach (the priest named), who advertised for subscriptions.

The first poor school of which I find a trace is that of St. Patrick's, Soho, London, for which help was asked in 1803. A few years later the Abbé Carron appealed for a similar school attached to the new chapel at Clarendon Square. In the district there were at the time, he says, between 120 and 130 poor children in need of instruction. At the same chapel in Somers Town, which was begun, apparently, in 1806, we have Benediction for the first time advertised as a regular service. The list of music printed by the Catholic publisher, Coghlan, of Duke Street, seems to suggest that this service was previously not unknown; but in 1807 the Abbé Carron informs the readers of the *Laity's Directory* that there "will be Vespers every Sunday at four o'clock, followed by Benediction; and Benediction every Wednesday at half-past four."

These are the first signs of the dawn of brighter and happier times for the old religion. Slight indeed were the signs at first—slight, but significant and precious memories to us now—of the working of the Spirit, of the rising of the sap in the old trunk, and of the bursting of bud and bloom with the life which during the long winter of persecution had lain dormant. *Succisa virescit*. Cut down almost to the very ground, the tree planted by Augustine quickly manifested the divine life within it, and put forth fresh leaves and branches.

It is impossible to examine the Catholic literature of the thirties and forties without finding everywhere evidence, in the Catholic body, of a genuine enthusiasm, which enabled them to do so much. We see it at every turn. Clergy and laity were determined to strive their utmost to show themselves worthy of the new hope and the new life Providence had given them. The foundation of the Catholic Institute in 1838 is a case in point. Away with apathy! "Organise and pay" were the watchwords of the new institution; and the speeches at the meetings speak of the enthusiasm which I have noted. O'Connell addressed the first general meeting on the great work which the Catholics had before them in assisting the new organisation. All should be proud to bear their share. In England and Wales the Catholics were then believed to be a million; and if all would but contribute one farthing a week, they would have £50,000 a year for Catholic purposes. What he preached to them, he said, the poor Catholics of Ireland practised; and he invited all—rich and poor, aristocracy and commoners—to unite in forwarding Catholic interests by associating themselves with an institute the motto of which was that which Dr. Milner had made his own: "I know

of no politics but religion, and of no party but the Church."

Under the influence of this enthusiasm, much was done in the first half of the century in the task of clearing away prejudice and in reconstructing Catholic life. Many circumstances combined to assist the work of settling the legacy of misunderstanding between Protestants and Catholics which the penal times had left behind. The hospitality extended by the nation to the French *émigrés*, and particularly to the refugee priests; the alliance of England with the Pope during the great war; the sufferings of Continental Catholics; the revulsion of feeling when the atrocity of the penal code had been brought home to the minds of Englishmen; the conciliatory spirit of men like Berington and Butler, Lingard and Milner and Doyle; the great Irish immigration; the agitation for Emancipation and the need to meet the attacks of those who feared and hated the Catholic cause, who were also the chief opponents of reform of every kind and of all liberal progress—all these and much more tended to smooth the way for the Catholic revival.

The influence of the movement may be seen within the limits of Protestantism itself. In the Established Church the era of renovation and revival, at any rate, synchronised in a remarkable manner with what Cardinal Newman has designated "The Second Spring"; and, aided by the aesthetic feeling which directed men's minds with admiration, if not sympathy, to a study of the Middle Ages, a wide field was by God's Providence prepared for the seed.

Of all this time, however, with its memories its hopes, its great men, its work done, its successes and its fail-

ures—even of the memorable year 1850, when the English Hierarchy was re-established, and when Protestant England was carried away by the insane panic about aggression—it is not possible for me to speak, nor, in this retrospective glance at the position of Catholics at the beginning of the past century, is there need that I should.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST IN PRE- REFORMATION TIMES¹

THE dawn of the Christian faith in these islands is shrouded in much mystery. How the Gospel was brought to our shores, or when it came, or who were the early apostles of far-off Britain, must ever remain matters of conjecture and of more or less uncertainty. Out of the obscurity, the only thing that is sure is that the Christian teaching, which affected so great a change in the hearts and lives of the British race, must have been received some time in the second century. As early as A.D. 208, Tertullian declares that the "haunts of the British, which have been inaccessible to the Romans, are subject to Christ"; and from this time onwards till the coming of St. Augustine in the sixth century, whatever we know of the British Church manifests it as one with the Catholic Church throughout the then known world.

In regard especially to its Eucharistic doctrine, about which only we are concerned to-day, out of the darkness which enwraps so much else during the first centuries of our history—out of the mists of legend, and out of the necessary obscurity of those ancient times—one or two points take definite shape and may be accepted by us

¹ A paper read at the Eucharistic Congress held in London, 1908.

as reliable, historical facts. For instance, we know that Victricius and Germanus, two bishops of the Church of Gaul, were sent by the Popes to compose certain religious difficulties which had arisen in this island. The first-named, in A.D. 390, speaks of the bishops of Britain as "holy prelates, fellow priests with me." And the second came hither in A.D. 439, at the bidding of Pope Celestine, "to keep the island Catholic" in all things. What the Church of Gaul in communion with the Apostolic See believed and taught about the Blessed Sacrament, that the British Church in those days held and proclaimed. This much seems certain.

Fastidius, also, a British bishop, who wrote at this very time, speaks of "a priesthood anointed" for the service of God; whilst even from the exaggerated and querulous language of Gildas it is possible to glean the important fact that the Church of Britain emerged from the long continued persecutions of the pagan Saxons practically as before. Amid the deep shadows of his picture of the desolation which had overwhelmed the Church, we hear of a regularly organised hierarchy; of a priesthood claiming power to bind and to loose; of bishops asserting their right to be considered the successors of the Apostles and especially of St. Peter "the holder of the keys," of priests whose hands were anointed for their sacred ministry at the altar—that "place" as he calls it "of the heavenly sacrifice." Finally, when, in A.D. 597, St. Augustine and his fellow monks came to convert the Saxon oppressors of the British Christians, we have the express testimony of this Apostle, direct from Rome, that the existing form of religion among the British was, except in two minor points, the same as that of the rest of the Christian world. In spite of the

enforced isolation of the persecuted British from other Christian bodies during one hundred and fifty years, their doctrines and practices had remained fully Catholic; and except as to their clinging to the old date of Easter and some peculiar and obviously non-essential custom in the administration of baptism, these doctrines and practices were the same as those of all Churches, which with Rome followed Catholic usage.

Therefore, even in the gloom and obscurity of the ages prior to the conversion of our Saxon forefathers, we may discern in regard to the most Holy Eucharist, the full faith of the Holy Roman Church of to-day. The sacred Orders, the anointed priesthood, the Christian altar, and, above all, the holy Sacrifice, were to the British Christian what they are to the Roman Catholic in this twentieth century. What the full belief of those primitive times was is adequately expressed by the ancient Antiphonary of Bangor in the hymn chanted at the communion of the priests. Here are some few lines from it: "Holy men," it says, "draw ye nigh and eat Christ's Body. Drink ye, too, that holy Blood by which ye are redeemed. Let us sing together our praises to God—we who are saved by this Body and Blood of Christ, by which also our souls are refreshed."

To speak to the faith of the Saxon Church in regard to the Holy Eucharist and in proof of its practical devotion to the most Holy Sacrament of the altar, we have the evidence of the writings of the great men who lived in these islands during the four centuries which intervened between the coming of St. Augustine and the Norman Conquest. Take St. Theodore as an example. St. Theodore came from Southern Italy by order of the Pope, and was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

His great work was to organise the Church of this country, and in A.D. 668 he issued his *Penitential*, in which (c. xlv) he calls the Mass a sacrifice. "No priest," he says, "shall offer up in sacrifice anything but what the Lord has commanded, that is unleavened bread and wine mingled with water, since blood and water flowed from our Lord's side." So also, he declares that the souls of the departed are purged from the stains of sin by the sacrifice of the priest.

Or take St. Bede—our own Venerable Bede, as our Catholic forefathers loved to call him. That glorious doctor of the Church speaks of "the offering up of the healing Victim"; of "the Victim of the holy oblation"; of "our salutary sacrifice"; and of "the mysteries of the most holy oblation." What we now hold, that did Bede hold and profess, away back in that far-off century, when the faith was fresh and young and vigorous, that upon the priesthood of His Church, Christ Himself laid the injunction to offer up the perpetual Sacrifice, in which Christ's true, real, and substantial Flesh and Blood were present under the forms of bread and wine. "To His priests," he writes, in his Commentary on St. Luke, "Christ has said, thou art a priest for ever according to the Order of Melchisedech, so that in place of the flesh and blood of lambs, we may now possess the Sacrament of Christ's Flesh and Blood under the appearance of bread and wine, which He Himself tells us is His very Self."

Nor is it possible in this regard to pass over a remarkable passage in St. Bede's letter to Archbishop Egbert on the question of frequent communion. He speaks indeed of the practice of daily communion by the laity as much to be desired and as having been actually the

custom throughout Italy, Africa, Greece, and the whole of the East. This, he says, has indeed fallen into disuse through the neglect of instruction, until in England people have come to think it sufficient if they receive the most Holy Eucharist on Christmas Day, the Epiphany, and at Eastertide. But, he goes on, "Since there are numberless boys and girls, youths and maidens, with grown up men and women, who lead innocent and pure lives, these might rightly partake of the heavenly mysteries without scruple or objection every Sunday and even on Apostles' days and on the feast of the Martyrs, as you yourself (*i.e.*, Archbishop Egbert) have seen to be the practice in the Holy Roman and Apostolic Church."

If there could be room for even a shade of a doubt as to the precise teaching of the Saxon Church in regard to Eucharistic doctrine, it would be dispelled by an examination of the Missals and Rituals and Pontificals, the tracts and the sermons which have been preserved to our time. "At God's altar," we read in one, "His only-begotten Son is immolated by the hands of the faithful." "In the bread," says another, "what is meant but the living Bread which came down from heaven?" "Our Lord," says a third, "did not say: take this consecrated bread and eat it in place of My Body, or drink this consecrated wine instead of My Blood, but He says without making use of any figure of speech or ambiguity: This is My Body and this is My Blood: and to remove any possibility of error he adds: that Body which was delivered for you, and that Blood which was shed for you."

It is impossible to multiply here examples of this plain, Catholic teaching; nor is there any need to do so; for if we turn to the works of our Anglo-Saxon fathers, we shall find abundant and absolute proof that the Eng-

lish belief in what we now call, with theological precision, *Transubstantiation*—that is, the change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of our Lord's Body and Blood—was as clear and determined as it certainly was in the later Middle Ages, or as we Roman Catholics have it to-day. "Not only," again says our Bede, "did Christ wash us from our sins in His Blood when on the Cross—or when each of us is cleansed in the mystery of His most sacred Passion by the waters of Baptism; but daily does He continue to take away the sins of the world. Daily, indeed, does Christ wash us from our sins in His own Blood, when the remembrance of His blessed Passion is renewed at the altar; when the creatures of bread and wine, by the ineffable hallowing of the Spirit, are transformed into the Sacrament of His Body and Blood." This must suffice as a mere sample of the exact and clear teaching of our Saxon fathers in regard to the great and mysterious change which is effected by the words of the consecrating minister at Holy Mass. "At that time," writes the illustrious English scholar Alcuin to a priest friend, "when thou shalt consecrate the bread and the wine into the substance of Christ's Body and Blood, be not unmindful of me."

For the closing period of the Saxon centuries, there is perhaps no better witness to the belief of the English Church than Ælfric, the homilist. In his Easter day sermon—which, by the way, has been so strangely misunderstood and misrepresented by those who would try to read Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrine into his words—in this sermon he makes it as clear as the noon-day sun, that his belief was the same as ours is to-day. One quotation must be sufficient. "Why," he asks, "is the holy housel called Christ's Body, or His Blood? Why,

if it be not truly what it is called? But the fact is that the bread and the wine, which are hallowed in the Mass of the priest appear one thing to human understandings without, and cry another thing to believing minds within. *Without*, they appear bread and wine both in aspect and in taste, but they are truly, after the hallowing, Christ's Body and His Blood through a ghostly mystery."

The expression *Lex orandi est lex credendi* has, of course, only a very general application, because the prayers of a people need not necessarily express their beliefs with complete fullness. But, when beliefs do find expression in popular prayers it is obvious that they are rooted deep in the minds and hearts of those who make use of them. In this way, liturgical *formulae* and other prayers of a nation are the surest evidence of the doctrines taught and held. Now, clear and definite as are the expressions made use of in the Catholic Church to-day in regard to the Blessed Sacrament, those of Anglo-Saxon times are, if possible, still clearer and more definite. Let me give one or two examples. What can be more expressive of Catholic doctrine, for instance, than the words of a prayer for the consecration of an altar found in a Pontifical of about A.D. 900? The Bishop prays: "O Lord, sprinkle with the dew of heavenly unction this stone prepared for the celebration of the health-giving mysteries of Redemption; pour forth on it the unction of Thy divine sanctification; send down on it the gift of Grace, hallowing the sacrifice upon it, that thus truly a hidden power may change upon it the creatures chosen for the sacrifice into the Body and Blood of our Redeemer, and secretly transmute them into the sacred Victim of the Lamb; so that as the Word

was made Flesh, so the nature of the oblation when blessed, may pass into the substance of the Word."

Again, among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers—as indeed elsewhere, of course, in the Christian world—nothing was ever employed on the altar, or in connection with the Sacrifice, without having been first set apart by prayers and blessings for so holy a use. The chalice, for example, in the words of prayers then employed, was hallowed to hold the precious Blood; the paten was "for the Body of Our Lord to be made in it"; the corporal, of the finest linen, was blessed, as it was "to cover and veil" His Body and Blood, as Joseph's winding-sheet once had done, and because upon it the mysterious consecration was to be effected, and this hallowed linen cloth was then to serve to cover, and wrap up the very Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. Beyond all else, however, one practice of the Saxon Church seems to me to demonstrate the lively faith of the Catholics of those days in the true, real, substantial, and continuous presence of Christ our Lord in the consecrated Host. This practice, which, by the way, was continued in certain circumstances, according to our great English canonist Lyndwood, up to the very eve of the religious changes of the sixteenth century, was the placing of the Blessed Sacrament in consecrated altar sepulchres, instead of the relics of the martyrs.

But I must pass rapidly on. What the faith and teaching of the Saxon Church was as to the Blessed Sacrament, that no less clearly was the belief of our ancestors in the centuries which followed upon the Norman Conquest. From the middle of the eleventh century to the middle of the sixteenth century, the Eucharist doctrine of Catholic England was as full and as developed

as we have it to-day. I cannot imagine how anyone who is not wilfully blind can gainsay this patent fact. A few years after the Normans had settled in England, the declaration of Archbishop Lanfranc in A.D. 1079 expresses that faith. Indeed, he was called on to voice the protest of the entire Catholic Church against the errors of Berengarius in regard to the most august mystery of the Holy Eucharist. In this declaration are found the following words: "We hold that the earthly substances which are divinely sanctified at the Lord's Table through the priestly ministration, become ineffably, incomprehensibly, wonderfully changed by the working of the heavenly power into the essence of the Lord's Body, the external look of these substances and certain other qualities being kept, lest people might be horrified at seeing what was flesh and blood-red; and that believers might get a more abundant reward for their faith."

Let us pass to the days of our Plantagenet kings. In 1195 Archbishop Hubert Walter held a Synod at York, the provisions of which are important as manifesting the faith of the English Church, and showing the extreme care and reverence which it had for the Most Blessed Sacrament. The law as to the mixed chalice; the pains taken to preserve the sacred Canon of the "Sacrifice of the Mass" from even the least verbal change; the stringent provisions as to the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, which, out of reverence, was to be changed each week; the honour with which it was to be carried to the sick for their Viaticum, are all evidences of the faith of the English people, and of their devotion to the Holy Eucharist. Archbishop Hubert's words sum up the teaching: "Let the Blessed Sacrament," he says, "be

consecrated with humility, received with fear, and dispensed (to the faithful) with all reverence."

So much with regard to the teaching of the pre-Reformation Church in England as to the most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. The evidence of the faith of our Catholic ancestors in those days when England knew but one creed, and recognised in the Pope the one supreme spiritual authority, can be seen in the works of almost every English writer for a thousand years and more. Blind indeed are they who cannot read aright what is there written so plainly. What that faith was; how full it was, and how it overflowed with devotion to Our Lord, ever present in the consecrated Host, can be seen in the walls of every cathedral, abbey, and parish church, which were raised by the generous piety of our Catholic ancestors in every part of the country in honour of the most Blessed Sacrament. These were truly the tabernacles of the Lord of Hosts; shrines set up by generations of Englishmen as the places where the "glory of the Lord" should dwell in their midst; Himself hardly hidden by the sacramental veils from the eyes of their faith. Upon these sanctuaries they lavished all that was best and most beautiful of their possessions as they would do on a house prepared for their Lord, their Saviour, and their God. Even desecrated, dismantled, and destroyed as many of them are to-day, they still proclaim the purpose for which they were erected. As St. Bede has said, they were raised to be "houses of prayer where the Body of the Lord is consecrated, and where, as we cannot doubt, the Angels are ever present," since "where the mysteries of the Lord's Body and Blood are wrought, we cannot but believe that there are the hosts of heaven," who were present when the lifeless

body was placed in the tomb, and who guarded it reverently till the moment of its glorious resurrection.

In these sacred buildings stood the altar of the Christian Sacrifice. As Archbishop Winchelsea of Canterbury says in his *Constitution*, it is the altar, "to honour which each church is dedicated." And so here in England, as of course elsewhere in the Christian world, the church, and "God's Acre" round about it, was known as the one sacred, hallowed spot in every city, town, and hamlet—hallowed because there stood the altar; there was the daily Christian Sacrifice offered up for the living and the dead—hallowed because there, under the veils of the sacramental species, giving meaning and purpose to everything, was the abiding presence of the same Lord Who was born into the world for our sakes and for our sins, Who lived at Nazareth, Who taught in Galilee, and Who died for our salvation. They who built these old English cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches believed all this, as we Catholics do now. Of this there can be no sort of doubt; and to-day, when we enter any one of those venerable shrines, from which the Blessed Sacrament has been cast forth, and view the place where stood the altar of the Christian Sacrifice, and where literally it was overthrown in the religious changes of the sixteenth century, to typify the "passing of the Mass"—the abolition of the Sacrifice—a sense of desolation comes upon us, and the feeling of a real absence is experienced at least by us Catholics. To-day, alas! we look merely upon the setting, which the piety and devotion of generations of Catholic Englishmen had fashioned, to be somewhat less unworthy of the precious jewel of the Holy Sacrament. The very beauty of the setting only emphasises the absence of the jewel. Like the holy city,

which one of the seven angels of the Apocalypse showed to St. John, each English church was as a place "coming down out of heaven from God; having the glory of God; and the light thereof was like to a precious stone, as to the jasper stone—even as a crystal." Now the light is gone, the jewel is torn from its place and, even the setting, upon which so much love and faith had been lavished, shows patent proofs of the violence of the means employed, and seems to proclaim aloud that "the glory of God, which hath enlightened it, and the Lamb, and the lamp thereof, is departed." Ichabod! indeed may we say, for "the glory is departed from Israel, because the ark of God is taken" (1 Kings, iv, 22). As Cardinal Manning once said, "the old sanctuaries of England are indeed beautiful; but they have the beauty of a face from which the eyes have been ruthlessly torn."

To notice another point. If any one will take the trouble to study the Wills and Churchwarden's Accounts for the period immediately before the change of religion, he cannot fail to admit that even to the end the English people were vying with one another in adorning and beautifying the sanctuaries of God. The evidence of the church walls in almost every village over the length and breadth of England proclaims that the reparation, rebuilding, and re-ornamentation of these sacred places was almost universal. From the warden's accounts we know, too, that this was not the work of some great noble or rich landlord, but in every sense this movement on the eve of the Reformation was a manifestation of spontaneous popular love of religion in general and of the Blessed Sacrament in particular, a movement in which even the poorest wished and claimed to have a share

and take a part. The church was then the very centre of the Christian family life and of the corporate life of the parish, because it was the home of the most Holy Sacrament, the place where our Lord dwelt in the midst of a believing people. What is commonly and regularly done is very seldom set down in any record, and we may look in vain for any evidence of the acts of religion practised by our forefathers in chronicles or papers of the period. By chance the truth, however, sometimes appears. An examination of one of the Pilgrims of Grace, in 1536, reveals, for example, one Catholic practice in an obscure village in Yorkshire. A party of workmen, after having finished their daily labour and refreshing themselves in an alehouse on their way home, turned in to their village church to say their *Pater* before the most Holy Sacrament hanging over the altar before going to their rest.

It is somewhat difficult to determine what was the practice of the English Church during the later Middle Ages in regard to frequent Communion. Many have argued from Synodical laws and episcopal mandates that there must have been much neglect of the Holy Sacrament, and that lay people approached Communion very seldom, and possibly not more than once a year. I do not think that these precepts are at all conclusive. From such laws and exhortations it is impossible to make certain deductions. We know, for example, that the commandment of the Church that all the faithful should receive the Blessed Eucharist "at least once a year" does not certainly imply now that the majority of good people are content to communicate only at Easter. There is a passage in *Piers Plowman*—a poem, as all know, written at the end of the fourteenth century—which

seems to suggest the practice of monthly Communion. Expressed in modern language, it says:

"Here is bread that has been blessed and God's Body is thereunder.

"Through God's words, grace gave Piers Plowman power and might to make It.

"And grace gave It to men to be eaten to help in their salvation *once in a month*, or as oft as they had need."

It would, too, seem certain that good Catholic Englishmen in those days desired to be present at daily Mass, where this was in any way possible. The evidence for this is conclusive; and even where the hearing of daily Mass was not possible, the mediaeval English Catholic was taught to join in spirit in this supreme act of worship and adoration. The little Sanctus bell on the chancel roof or elsewhere rang out across the country to warn the traveller on the roads and the labourer in the fields that the Sacrifice was being accomplished close by in God's house. In 1281 the celebrated Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury orders that "at the time of the elevation of the Body of our Lord (in the Holy Mass), a bell be rung on one side of the church, that those who cannot be at daily Mass, no matter where they may be, whether in the fields or in their own homes, may kneel down and so gain the indulgences granted by many bishops" to such as perform this act of devotion.

Of the many incidents in the public and private life of English people which could be cited as manifesting a devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, I have time to speak of only one or two. The first is national. Two miles beyond Northallerton, in A.D. 1138, was fought what has become known in our history books as the "battle of the Standard." The Scots had espoused the quarrel of

Matilda against Stephen, and in that year they moved in large numbers southward in her cause. Thurstan, the old Archbishop of York, exhorted the northern barons to fight for their families, their country, and their God; and after three days had been spent in fasting and devotion, they set out to bar the progress of their enemies. Their standard was the mast of a vessel fixed into the framework of a carriage. In the centre of the cross fastened on its summit was placed a pyx containing the Blessed Sacrament, and below waved the banners of their patron saints, SS. Peter, Wilfrid, and John of Beverley. It was round this standard that the battle raged; and the battle they won was ever attributed to the presence of our Blessed Lord, the God of battles, in the midst of those who believed and trusted in Him.

Let me take another and a wholly different instance of this lively faith of our Catholic ancestors in the presence of our Blessed Lord in the Sacrament of the Altar. In some parts of this country in pre-Reformation days, the dramatic ceremonies of Palm Sunday show the intense belief of the people in the Blessed Sacrament, and their full realisation of the sacred presence of our Lord in the consecrated Host. Early in the morning of Palm Sunday, the Sacred Host was brought from the church and placed under a richly ornamented tent set up in the furthest corner of the burial ground. Here the precious pyx was watched by the clergy, until the procession of the blessed palms had issued from the church and the first *Statio*, or resting-place, had been held. At this time the Gospel was sung which told of the crowd that had come forth from the city to meet our Lord on the Sunday before He suffered. At its conclusion, as if re-enacting the sacred drama of that

day, the Blessed Sacrament was borne forth from its resting-place. It was carried in the hands of the priests under a canopy, surrounded by lights and preceded by a silver cross and incense; and thus, as of old the Jews met our Lord at the city gate, so here the people advanced towards Him and saluted Him with their hymns of praise. The cantors intoned the words of the anthem *En rex noster venit mansuetus*, and then kneeling down and bowing to the ground they one and all saluted the Blessed Sacrament. The processions then moved together to the churchyard cross, where the Sacred Host was raised in blessing, whilst priests and people fell down and adored Him who had died upon the Cross for their sakes. Then once more the people followed our Lord to the closed doors of the church, and when, after the chanting of the *Gloria laus* the doors flew open, the priests, who bore the shrine in which the Blessed Sacrament was hanging, held their Sacred Burden aloft in the doorway, and each one as he entered had to pass beneath It, and had to bow his head in token of reverence and humble belief.

I cannot conclude without saying something about the forms of prayer made use of in the popular devotions of pre-Reformation England in regard to the most Blessed Sacrament. Even to-day, in my opinion, we cannot possibly have better prayers for our own personal use, than those in which the deep faith and true love of our Catholic forefathers found expression. I pass over the well-known *Anima Christi*, now commonly known as the prayer of St. Ignatius and attributed to him, but which, in reality, is a flower of the devotion of the fifteenth century, and was much used here in England in pre-Reformation days. I pass also the *Ave caro Christi*

cara, etc., "Hail, dear flesh of Christ," etc., so often recommended for the sacred time of the Elevation at the Mass, and I take a few examples of prayers to the Blessed Sacrament, little known in these days, but which were popular in every sense of the term among English folk in the Middle Ages. I venture to say that, whether for the dogmatic expression of faith in the Sacrament of the Altar, or for the spirit of genuine devotion to the Bread of Life, we can wish for nothing better.

Here are some ejaculations to be said at the Elevation in Holy Mass: "Hail to Thee, Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Word made Flesh, Son of the Virgin Mary, Lamb of God, true Saviour of the World, sacred Victim, source of love!"

"Hail to Thee, Jesus Christ, glory of the angels, reward of the saints, vision of the Father, true God and true Man, fruit of the Virgin's womb!"

"Hail to Thee, author of our being! Hail, price of our redemption! Hail, our guide to holiness! Hail to Thee, food of our pilgrimage! Hail, reward of our hope! Thou art the King of Glory. Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father."

"O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who didst take flesh from the Virgin Mary for the redemption of sinners, by virtue of Thy sacred Body and Blood here sacrificed and received as a memorial of Thy sacred Passion, I beseech Thee in Thy mercy to pardon me all my sins, and to grant me perseverance in good works so that keeping myself unspotted from this world I may be saved in the life to come when I shall pass from this perishable life."

Or take these prayers to the Consecrated Elements on the altar, to be said after the Elevation.

"Hail! Thou source of our being. Hail! Thou cause of our redemption. Hail, most pure Flesh of Christ the Son of God. Take pity on me and grant that I, Thy unworthy servant, may, at the close of my life, truly acknowledge Thy most holy Body which hath been consecrated for me, that in full faith I may adore Thee and receive Thee into my being.

"Hail! true Body of Christ, which, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, and was offered on the Cross for man. . . .

"Hail, dear Flesh of Christ, sacrificed as a victim upon the altar of the Cross for the redemption of the world.

"Hail, sacred Blood, which flowed forth from Christ's right side, wash us we beseech Thee from our sins. Hail, vessel of Christ's love. Hail, cup of sweetness in which is contained the pledge of all heavenly delight, the true and entire substance of our Saviour, the sacrament of grace, the food of divine love. Therefore, we beseech Thee, come to the aid of Thy servants whom Thou hast purchased by Thy precious Blood.

"May the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ bring us to the joys of paradise. Amen."

Or take this example of Saxon piety towards the Blessed Sacrament at the time of the Canon of the Holy Mass.

"O God, Priest of the true and eternal tabernacle, who hast offered Thyself as the immaculate Lamb on the altar of the Cross, may the mystery of Thy life-giving passion which is now being offered by our priest be an expiation of all our sins. And, as once Thou didst take pity on the tears of Peter and the sighs of the thief crucified with Thee, so now at this moment have mercy on us, bring us also to that tabernacle where, seated on the right hand of the Father, Thou, moved with com-

passion for the human race, dost plead for us. O Jesus Christ, our God and our glory, do Thou offer up each day in heaven that sacrifice which once Thou hast offered for us upon the Cross."

But I must draw to a conclusion. I have been able in the short time at my disposal merely to touch the fringe of a great and interesting topic, about which a volume, nay, volumes, might be written. On every side we have evidence of the belief of the English people in the most Holy Sacrament, and of their true and sound devotion to It. The evidence is so obvious that, after all, any demonstration of it is not needed. If any man may wish to know exactly what the people of these islands believed in regard to It from the earliest times of which we have record to the change of religion in the sixteenth century, let him call to mind what we Roman Catholics to-day hold to so firmly, and let him know that every faithful soul in pre-Reformation times in this England of ours held no less certainly to this most Holy Sacrament as the centre and life of our religion.

SCOTLAND IN PENAL DAYS¹

A HISTORICAL SURVEY

THIS is indeed an interesting occasion which has brought us all together. We are met here to recall the great deeds and the saintly life of the venerable Bishop Hay, who passed to the reward of his many labours a hundred years ago. He occupies a great place in the Church. His figure is indeed the first to come forth from the gloom which had enshrouded the Catholic Church in Scotland for more than two centuries, and he was destined to be the herald of better days for the poor persecuted Scotch Catholics. His strong will determined that the penal enactments under which they had suffered too long must cease, and to secure this he exerted all the strength of his powerful personality. His efforts were crowned with success. Freedom came at last, and with freedom to serve God according to conscience, came that wonderful revival of the Church in Scotland, which the decades since Bishop Hay's death have witnessed, and evidence of which we see round about us to-day. Another will speak of the venerated and illustrious Bishop and of the wonderful work he accomplished. To-day I am to concern myself with briefly recalling the memories of those days of sorrow, repression, perse-

¹ An address on the occasion of the Bishop Hay centenary celebrations, held at Fort Augustus, 12th to 14th September 1911.

cution and even of despair, blank and without hope, which were the lot of the suffering few faithful Scotchmen, who, strong in the faith of Christ, refused, at the bidding of the heretical majority of their countrymen, to abandon the faith of their fathers or to bow their knees to Baal. If the story of their sufferings is sad, it has its consolations and encouragement. It makes us indeed rejoice that we belong not only to the ancient faith of the Scotch people but to that faith which has produced examples of heroic courage unsurpassed in the history of any religious persecution, which has given us instances of patient endurance without record and of social proscription gallantly borne in defence of religious principle, which cannot fail to stir the hearts of the most callous with admiration and respect. My story alas! is one of destruction and wellnigh of defeat. I shall have to speak of constant and bitter persecution, of a seemingly hopeless struggle to maintain Catholic ideals under circumstances the most adverse; of an almost superhuman effort to keep the lamp of faith alight amidst the furious blasts and attacks of those hardly less determined to quench the flame at all hazards; and of a constancy and heroism which nothing but the strength of the great God of Heaven could sustain.

Let us go back to 1560. In that year the great and glorious Church of Scotland was legally overthrown. I should be taken far away from my special subject were I to speak of what had been, or of the causes which had led up to that catastrophe. Perhaps it was the riches of the Church's endowments which attracted the covetous eyes of adventurers towards it; for in proportion to the resources of the country, the Church of Scotland was one of the richest in Europe. There were signs, too, as pre-

vously in England, of a slackening of spiritual interests, and of the presence of worldly ideals even in the sanctuary of God. The evil of commendatory superiors for houses of religion, from which by their overthrow more than twenty years before the English monasteries had been saved, was almost universal; and to those who could read the signs of the times, the writing was upon the wall. Even the most out-and-out defender of the old régime admits this, and tells us in the words of a contemporary that the salt had lost its savour and some remedy was imperative. Even the strictest of the religious Orders are said to have admitted the spirit of the world somewhat too freely into their cloisters.

These are but indications; after all, this land was apparently no worse than the rest of Europe, and what was needed was that which also came too late to save the glorious Church of Scotland—the great reforming Council of Trent. Then, too, as we examine the production of the early printing press in this country, we must admit that the ecclesiastical authority of the time apparently did not do much to encourage the issue of doctrinal or devotional books. With the exception of the well-known *Catechism* of Archbishop Hamilton—"the twapenny faith"—as it was called, only some five or six tracts of no great importance represent the religious output before the crash came.

Again there appear to have been in Scotland fewer religious disputations at this period than we should have expected from men who had read the signs of the times, and had prepared themselves to fight strenuously for their faith. And there can be no doubt that the personality of John Knox was a great asset upon the side of the Reformation. "The devil," as Charles Kingsley once

said, "never sends fools on his errands," and the unbridled fanaticism of the Scotch reformer somehow carried away multitudes who never stopped to think of the truth of his invectives or the logic of his religious platitudes.

Whatever may be, under God, the reason for the overthrow of the Church of Scotland, the fact remains that in 1560 it was legally suppressed; the old faith of a thousand years was proscribed, and the people were commanded by the legal authorities to accept the religious novelties of Calvinistic origin. From that date the hierarchy does not appear to have exercised any practical jurisdiction. What became of the clergy it is now impossible to say. The proclamation of King James VI, twelve years later—in 1572—declares that the persecuting laws are necessary "to protect the professors of the Evangel [the Gospellers] from the furious rage and lawless cruelty" of the "bloody and treasonable Papists," executors of "the decrees of the devilish and terrible Council of Trent"; and commissions were issued to seek out all "conjurers and Massemongers." In the face of the rigid enforcement of the laws of proscription some of the clergy conformed, some fled abroad, and, of course, some remained at their posts. Some of the bishops, too, lapsed. In 1571, one, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, was hanged upon a gibbet from the walls of Stirling Castle, dressed in full pontificals; and one, Bishop Chisholm, of Dunblane, survived till 1630, when he died the last of the old Catholic hierarchy. In point of fact, however, the bishops had long before that ceased to direct the surviving clergy of Scotland. The proscription of the old faith in 1560 seems to have completely paralysed the authorities, and for the

next fifteen years or more, it would appear that little or nothing was done to stem the flood of heretical teaching or to repair the ruin caused by the overthrow of the old religion. Here and there, no doubt, there were devoted priests who defied the forces arrayed against the old religion, and who valiantly protected their flocks against the raging wolves of heresy. Two centuries later, for instance, the reason of the catholicity of Braemar district was accounted for because the priest had remained faithful to death at his post. No doubt he was but one instance of many men equally true to their duty, but of these nothing is known to us in these later days; the record of all such is to be found only in the Book of Life. For the most part the fierce hatred and intolerance of the sectaries, which sprang up immediately the Holy Mass was put down, made the practices of Catholic life, especially in the south, practically impossible. Even Queen Mary, it is said, could hardly get the Sacred Sacrifice offered in her own chapel; and with such determination and thoroughness were the missals and liturgical books destroyed throughout the country out of hatred and contempt for the Holy Mass, that I believe I am right in saying that the Arbuthnott missal remains at this day as almost a unique literary curiosity of pre-Reformation Scotch liturgy. For a time, owing to the want of instructors, some outwardly conformed, so far as to take the Sacrament, holding it to be but bread and wine, as a condition of peace. Still, the Catholics of Scotland long remained numerous and powerful. In 1592, for example, Cecil wrote that "all the northern parts . . . were either wholly or for the great part Catholic." But the faith was the object of bitter and relentless attack; it was looked upon as a religious duty

to extinguish the Mass everywhere, and to compel Catholics to embrace "the purity of the Presbyterian faith."

From 1580 the country was taken possession of by the missionaries, and for twenty years they worked without cessation up and down the land to save the faith from extinction. The labourers were few and the vineyard extensive. It was possible to do little more than afford encouragement to those who remained faithful, than here and there to reconcile some who had fallen away, than at long intervals to administer the Sacraments by stealth to the scattered flocks. At the end of the sixteenth century, in their extreme sufferings, the Scotch Catholics sent a piteous petition for help to Rome. Bishop William Chisholm, the last Catholic Bishop of Dunblane, who on his expulsion by the heretics had become Bishop of Vaison in France, and John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, then residing in Rome, jointly represented to Clement VIII the deplorable state of religion in Scotland. They declared that in their opinion Scotch Catholicity would most certainly perish altogether out of the land, unless some means were not quickly found to arrest the rapid defection, which was everywhere apparent. This appeal was not made in vain; and on 5th December 1600 there was begun, "as a nursery for native missionary priests," the Scotch college in Rome, to which historic institution the religion of this country has ever since been so much indebted. The pyrrhic victory, at Glenlivet, of the Catholic lairds under the Earl of Huntly over Argyle, brought down on them the vengeance of the King. All the Catholic houses which were pointed out by the Kirk ministers as having been "polluted" by the Mass, were soon mere smoking ruins.

In the year 1617 the Jesuit missionary Father William Leslie came to work in this vast field. He subsequently described the state of the country in a letter to his General: "How neglected this vineyard was," he writes, "how long unattended! Very few openly professed the faith; the Sacraments were rarely used, devotion seemed extinct, Christian virtues forgotten; in fact, scarcely a trace of religion was anywhere apparent." Up to that time (1617) there had been, it appears, two Jesuits in the Highlands and two in the Lowlands. During the winter months these fathers were sheltered in the houses of the Catholic lairds, like the Earl of Errol and the Marquis of Huntly—the head of the house of Gordon—and in the long days of summer they wandered forth over mountains and through glens and by the borders of the lonely lochs, seeking for Catholic families, which still kept the faith in spite of persecution.

At first the English Bishop of Chalcedon had jurisdiction also over Scotland—a jurisdiction which it was impossible he could exercise, and which was recognised on his death in 1624 as futile. The first quarter of the seventeenth century, although a period of persistent persecution, saw a great Catholic revival. The Pope appealed to the religious Orders, and in particular to the Franciscans and Benedictines, to send labourers into Scotland. By 1627 there were eight Scotch Benedictines from Ratisbon at work mostly in the Highlands, and six Franciscans from Ireland, whilst the Jesuit labouring at Aberdeen had gathered round him what he described as "a tolerably large mission."

In the year 1628 a Scottish Benedictine voices the feeling of the Catholics at the desolation of the country. Lingerer amongst the ruins of the glorious abbey of

Aberbrothock he bewails "the deplorable state of the defaced and staggering steeples, the battered walls, broken down pillars, and the floor all overgrown with grass and defiled with filth. And this," he adds, "hath been once a most royal, brave, and gorgeous church." "O God, the house of our sanctification and glorie, where our fathers did praise and worship Thee, is made desert and burnt, and all our things worthy to be wished are turned to ruins." He describes, too, his feelings on visiting St. Giles' and "looking at bare walls and pillars all clad with dust sweepings and cobwebs instead of painting and tapestry," and in place of the praying multitudes, "beholding the restless resorting of people treating of their worldly affairs, some writing and making obligations, contracts, and discharges."

Puritanism was, from the first, very pronounced and intolerant; but in spite of every effort at coercion, on Easter Day 1627, at St. Andrews and at Glasgow, there were but six or seven communicants. The following year it was announced that if people would but communicate "they should have liberty to sit, stand, or kneel" as they pleased. The attempt by Archbishop Laud to impose Episcopacy and a liturgy framed for the Scotch, on the religious level of Anglican Eucharistic doctrine, was strongly resented and strenuously resisted by the Kirk, and the poor Catholics were made to feel the effect of the general anger against what the ministers regarded as the introduction of plain Popery. The annual letters to the General of the Society of Jesus describes 1628 as one of the most terrible years of suffering and persecution yet experienced. One of the fathers—John Macbreck—had at that time been six months in prison, from which he was only released by

reason of a serious sickness brought on by the squalor and filth of his dungeon. A general edict appointed officers to "follow, hunt, and pursue priests with fire and sword"; to set in flames all houses in which they had sought refuge, and to use all other force and warlike engine that can be had for apprehending the said Jesuits and excommunicate Papists—"the most pernicious pests in the common weal." The names of nineteen priests were at this time given who were to be seized at once, and lists of all Catholics, "who declined to attend the law Church," were ordered to be sent up to the authorities twice every year.

From this time (1628) the persecution of those professing the Catholic religion developed into a system. Detailed accounts of the poor Catholics with their names and abodes were furnished to the justices. They were ordered to quit their houses, which were taken possession of by the King's officials. When the inmates were out in the roads the hearth fires were extinguished as a public sign of the final destruction of the family life, and the expelled Catholics were driven even from the neighbourhood of their wrecked cottages. Bishop Forbes of Brechin thus describes the object of this episode in these two centuries of scientific persecution: "The complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated sect," he says, "was the avowed object of our Scotch Reformers." To such a point of sectarian fury did they attain, that wholesale massacres of Catholics, men, women, and children, were contemplated as a worthy object of religious zeal. Midwives were encouraged to use their functions to secure the deaths of Catholic mothers and children. One Margery Menzies, whilst actually in labour, was

turned out of her home into the streets with three children suffering from smallpox, and when one child died of this inhuman treatment it was refused burial in any churchyard.

At this time also, there was invented that terrible social ostracism known as Excommunication by the religious authority of the Kirk. With one so pronounced excommunicate no one was allowed to have any dealings or relations. From such no one could buy; to such no one might sell; with such no one might hold communication, or have any part in the ordinary relations of civilised life. The flocks and herds of any outlawed Catholic could be seized by the first comer and driven off as legitimate booty, and men were sent into the growing crops of the Catholic farmer to trample them down and destroy them. In 1628 that valiant woman, Elizabeth Lady Herries, was in this way declared excommunicated as an obstinate Papist, and being arrested was committed to the prison for abandoned women in Edinburgh. She refused to pass the threshold until compelled by force, declaring that all the persecutors' efforts would be unavailing, if they thought they could force her by anything they might do to deny her faith. She declared, moreover, that she knew thousands of women in Edinburgh who were ready to do the same and suffer for their religion. Her child was seriously ill at this time and died in the prison, whilst Lady Herries herself was saved from death only by being released and banished. The following year (1629) the Countess of Abercorn also was thrown into a dungeon in Edinburgh for her faith, and when liberated the public were warned that they must avoid her and refuse to serve or help her in any way. The year 1630 brought no relief. In spite of the

prayers of the English Catholic Queen, the King refused to credit the reports she gave him of the ill-treatment of the unfortunate Catholics in Scotland. In the July of this year numbers of men and women were brought before the Council, and on their refusal to accept the Kirk teachings as the infallible guide of their consciences, were sentenced to perpetual banishment. Seven weeks were given them to prepare for their departure, and one-third of the rent of their confiscated farms was generously promised for the support of their families. Even this was to be forfeited should they return to their native land. "By God's grace," however, writes Father William Leslie at this time, "these sturdy Highland Catholics, when God's call came, were found to rise up and leave ancestral lands and to turn from their beloved country for God's sake and for their faith, never to see the hills of Scotland again."

For many decades of years more, life was destined to remain quite as hard for the faithful Catholics in Scotland. In fact the period from 1637 to 1650 is described, by one who went through it, as a "reign of terror." Of course the number and influence of the Catholics decreased under such relentless persecution. Nevertheless there were not altogether wanting some consoling evidences of a new life, some indications of the sap once more rising in the old tree, which helped to support the failing courage of the priests and people, crushed and broken as they were under the double burden of loyalty to their King and fidelity to their religious principles. At this time much pressure was exerted in Rome to obtain the appointment of a bishop for Scotland, especially a bishop for the Islands, where the number of Catholics was great and through the energy of the missionaries was increas-

ing. The appointment was determined upon by Propaganda in 1634, but the choice of the proper person apparently presented great difficulties and no decision was taken. The claims of a Franciscan friar—Father Patrick Haggerty—were urged as those of one who for many years had laboured with untiring devotion in the Hebrides. Wandering about from island to island this zealous missionary had himself reconciled, it is said, 2,294 people to the Church in the years 1630 and 1631. He was not alone in this heroic service. Other Franciscan friars, who helped in the work, were Father Bruno, and Father David Tyrie, and Fathers Archangel Leslie and Roger, or Epiphanius, Lynsay, Capuchins. This last was an untiring missionary. He had been thirty-eight years, first as a secular priest and then as a friar, engaged in this apostolic work, going about the country disguised as a drover, a shepherd, or a pedlar.

According to a report made to Propaganda in 1628, the Franciscan friars had in a few years reconciled no fewer than 10,269 souls to the Church. The hardships they had endured in the exercise of their ministry were desperate. Ever in peril of their lives they wandered about in the mountains and in the islands for months together, hardly daring to spend two consecutive nights in the same shelter for fear of capture; not that they feared to be taken for their own sakes, for even the terrors of the loathsome prisons to which as priests they would be committed would be a welcome change from their hunted condition—but because their capture would mean the loss of the shepherd of a scattered flock. For months together they had little to eat, at the best, beyond bread and cheese, and they had to quench their thirst at the mountain brooks. Winter found them sheltering in

the snow-covered fastnesses, whither even the implacable hatred of their persecutors hesitated to follow them. They indeed were heroes of whom we may well feel proud, but most of their names are known only to God.

A letter written in 1652 from a Lazarist, Father Dermot Duggan, to M. Vincent, Superior of the newly formed Congregation of the Mission, known to us as St. Vincent de Paul, gives us a glimpse of the lives led by those heroes of the Cross. He and his two companions—Fathers White and Thomas Lumsden—all three Scotch members of the new Lazarist body—had lived mostly in the islands, being seldom able to cross over to the mainland. God had visibly blessed the mission. One laird of property and influence had been taken into the Church with all his family and retainers; a poor Irish priest, who after undergoing great hardships had abandoned his faith, had been reconciled. God had chastised him in His mercy—for having lost his sight and his hearing in a sickness he had turned again to God, and having been received back again to the bosom of Mother Church, was now leading a life of penance in dire poverty, supporting himself by labouring on the land. One companion, Father Francis White, was working in the Highlands and had plenty to do wandering about among the scattered population. He himself had been much in the islands of Egg, Isla, and Canna, where through the grace of God the harvest had been great; eight or nine hundred people having returned to the faith. By reason of the absence of priests and the want of proper instruction the people had been found to have little knowledge of their religion, and no wonder, for he had, he declares, come across people of thirty, sixty, and even of eighty years of age, who had never been baptised.

In the island of Isla matters were somewhat better. Some had a knowledge of the Sacraments of Confession and the Holy Eucharist, through having been visited long before by an Irish Franciscan; but few remembered even how to make the sign of the Cross. Still, they were all well disposed to receive instruction. The general poverty was indescribable, and the conditions of life hard in the extreme. "As a rule," says Father Dermot Duggan, "I have to trudge distances of fourteen or fifteen miles carrying the vestments and other requisites of Holy Mass in a pack on my back. If I could only get together sufficient money to buy a boat," he adds, "I could do much good by getting from island to island."

In the same year (1652), another letter to St. Vincent de Paul from Father Thomas Lumsden gives the information that Father White was living in two hiding places, in the house of the laird of Aylort. He was working mainly among the poor fisherfolk, who had little but the faith, but in their steadfastness in this they were examples to their more fortunate countrymen. Their love for Holy Water, the writer described as remarkable, and its evident effects were wonderful. Three years after this letter Father Duncan, having ventured into the Highlands, was taken by the priest-hunters in the house of the Marquis of Huntly. He was carried first to Aberdeen, where he was lodged in the prison, and thence to Edinburgh where, on 5th December 1655, he was still confined for his faith.

There is no need to repeat this same sad story of trouble and suffering undergone by generations of Scotch Catholics for their faith. In 1650 the gallant Montrose ascended the scaffold saying: "God Almighty have mercy on this perishing country." And truly it

must have seemed to those who lived at that time as if God's hand was indeed shortened, and that in His design the very name of Catholic was destined to be wiped out of the bonnie land of Scotland. Still, wonderful to relate, many were reconciled to the Church, even during this terrible time, when to kill the King and utterly to suppress the Catholic religion was the recognised programme of the Covenanters, to which they bound themselves by oath. Measure after measure was conceived for their destruction. In 1656 Catholics were universally cited to appear before the judges. All, without exception, fearlessly obeyed. The brave Countess of Nithsdale, being asked by the officials to repudiate articles of Catholic faith replied: "You must first cut off my hand from my arm, and my head from my neck, before you tear from my breast my belief in those articles of religion." A few years later (1665), the young Marquis of Huntly was taken by force from his Catholic home at the age of fifteen, and placed under Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews in order that his faith might be destroyed. It was directed that he was to have no Catholic servant and should hold no communication with any one of that religious belief. It was useless, however, and after a brief time, though but a boy, he was found to be so "well hardened in his prejudice" that he was allowed to go. For some years in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the Scotch islands were confided to the care of the Archbishop of Armagh, the Venerable Oliver Plunket, who later became a martyr for his faith. Once, at least, this distinguished Prelate came to visit his charge, and from the reports made to him as to the state of religion we learn much about the position and troubles of the brave Scotch Catholics at this time. One of these

reports to Propaganda was written on 10th July 1671, by a Franciscan, Father Francis MacDonnel, who had long worked in that missionary field. There was, he says, great need of vestments, and especially of altar stones, as the priest was forced to carry one set about with him from island to island. Altar stones were very scarce because the heretics had made a point of destroying them whenever they could discover them. For a long time there had been no regular alms sent to help the mission, and although Friar MacDonnel had written frequently to Propaganda he had had no reply. He was in great poverty, having many things to pay for, and had constantly to employ help to carry the chapel things about every time he moved from place to place. At Bara there had been a Dominican Father, he says, named George Fanning, who had been working with great zeal for three years. He had been protected and supported in his work by the laird of Bara—MacNeil. Father Fanning had come to the island, indeed, without the leave of Propaganda, but finding the people wholly neglected had considered it a case of grave necessity and had remained on presumed faculties. Another report as to the Hebrides made on 2nd September 1671, by Archbishop Oliver Plunket, is taken, as he says, from the account given him by a Franciscan missionary, when he came to Armagh to get a fresh supply of Holy Oils. The general population of the islands, and consequently the Catholic population, was much diminished by the wars. On many of the islands the faith had died out for want of priests. The people were generally well disposed, and Arran, with its 12,000 inhabitants, would be wholly Catholic if there were but some priest to instruct the people. Uist, also with about 12,000 people, was about

half Catholic, and was looked after by the Franciscan Friar, Francis MacDonnel, who also had the sole care of the islands of Canna, Rum, Eigg, and Muck. Barra, under its laird MacNeil, had a population of 1,000 Catholics, looked after by the Dominican, George Fanning. Elsewhere there were Catholics, but they were falling away because there was no one to watch over them, and everywhere there was the greatest need for more labourers. The life was so hard that it required absolute self-sacrifice. Some of the Scotch youths, who had experienced the ease of the colleges of France, Italy and Flanders, would, it was to be feared, not be willing to return to work under these conditions. In the islands the missionary should not be too proficient in English. Though the people generally had the greatest respect for the priests, calling them "Coronati"; if they were too English they were at once called "Anglo-Scotch." Archbishop Plunket concluded with a special eulogy on Friar Francis MacDonnel as a man of great tact and a zealous and single-minded missionary.

But we must hasten on. Let us pass to the beginning of the following century—the eighteenth. There was now at last a bishop for Scotland. In 1694 Dr. Thomas Nicholson was appointed Vicar Apostolic, and immediately began to visit the scattered flocks, or more truly, individuals of his Vicariate. The new century brought no relaxation of the penal laws, under which now for many decades the Church in Scotland had been suffering. In fact, in 1700, new laws were passed dispossessing obstinate Catholics of their property altogether, and children of Catholics were taken by force from their parents and educated as Protestants. Well might a contemporary writer liken the new acts of persecution to

the laws of Diocletian against the first Christians. The immediate result was disastrous. Many gave up the struggle as hopeless, and became, outwardly at least, Calvinists; others wavered and temporised; few or none became reconciled to the Church. The first to begin active persecution on these new lines was the Marquis of Aberdeen, and it may be said that in the parts under his influence, the bitter pursuit of priests and people was never afterwards relaxed till the greater number of Catholics had been got rid of altogether.

In 1702 the proctor of Bishop Nicholson, James Gordon, who had himself worked in the Scotch mission for ten years, wrote from Paris an account of the religious state of the Vicariate to Propaganda. It is a truly interesting and sad document. The writer begins by saying that the condition of the mission had greatly changed for the worse during the last twelve months. For two years the laws against Catholics had been enforced with the utmost cruelty and persistence. Many had given up hope altogether, and had abandoned themselves to blank despair. Some of the lairds, upon whose loyalty to the faith everything had long depended and still depended, had forsaken the religion of their forefathers, for which they had so long endured persecution, others were vacillating, and others were keeping to it, merely because they hoped that some change of politics might give them a Catholic King and religious peace. If this was clearly not possible, many would be prepared to make what terms they could to secure peace and retain their estates. Catholics among the lower classes depended on the upper, and the laws pressed more heavily upon them than upon the lairds. No one was allowed to keep a Catholic servant, and so all this class was driven, even by

hunger, to abandon the Catholic religion. All classes were exposed to the continual temptation to conform to the new religion.

The ministers of the Kirk, too, strove by every means possible to destroy the Catholic faith and to eradicate the very name of Catholic out of Scotland. They contrived mixed marriages, and forced all to go to their places of worship to contract any legal marriage. So severe had been the fury of persecution, that in the cities and bigger towns there was hardly left a place where a Catholic could dwell, and generally there was no possibility of people going to church, and hence, "unless God shall please by a Special Providence and almost by a miracle to preserve the faith in Scotland, in thirty or forty years at most, the faithful will be reduced to only a scattered few in the entire kingdom."

Last January and February (*i.e.* 1702), continued Father Gordon, in the mountainous district where Catholics were numerous, a more bitter and determined persecution broke out than had been known for over a century. Not once or twice only, but again and again soldiers were sent through the Highland glens to hunt out priests and schoolmasters. The armed men carried out their orders with the utmost fury, so that it was impossible for any priest to remain for two consecutive nights in the same hiding-place. One priest, old and worn out by being continuously hunted from place to place, died on the road; another was driven mad; and a schoolmaster, whom the soldiers were specially desired to catch, was forced to spend three months of the winter wandering among hills covered with snow and ice, deprived of every necessary of life and even of shelter. February closed with rumours of more severe measures

being concerted against the unfortunate Catholics. A simultaneous attempt was to be made to seize every priest in the country. The zeal of the Marchioness of Seaforth had at this time roused the ministers to anger. She was warned that her son, a lad of fourteen, was to be taken away from her to be educated by the Protestants; but she was just able to get him taken abroad to a Catholic country.

All this time Bishop Nicholson was moving about doing all in his power to sustain the courage of his persecuted flock. He had his consolations in the fervour of the people and in the wonderful conversions to the faith, in spite of what the converts had to suffer. Not only did many who had fallen away return, but a young minister of the Kirk at Elgin, much thought of and an excellent preacher, gave up everything and became a Catholic.

At this time in the whole of Scotland there were only some forty priests in all. The Jesuits had nine, the Benedictines four, the Irish Franciscans five, and there were fourteen secular priests, of whom two were Irish. One old Scotch priest, who had been exiled after long imprisonment, was then on his way back; another, Father Alexander Leslie, after labouring for thirty years, had just gone to his reward; and one, Father Robert Gordon, had only just arrived upon the scene of his mission to die of decline. The Franciscans and two of the Benedictines, who knew the language well, were working in the islands, where there were many Catholics. Others were in the mountain districts, where all they had to live upon were the alms given by Propaganda yearly since 1699. One Benedictine, still in active work, in these difficult circumstances, was upwards of seventy years old.

Father John Innes, a Jesuit missionary, this same year, 1702, writes of his experiences: "For nearly fifteen years," he says, "I have been wandering over different parts of this my native country with what difficulty, hardship, and peril He only knows, who knows all things. I have had to accommodate myself to the manners and customs of the rudest and most uncouth country people, to be hid in caverns or in forests, and to travel at nights, and in winter, over mountains, rocks, and through woods, over the most difficult roads, often without a guide or companion, not without peril to my life. And, not unfrequently, when tired out by these journeys, whether by night or day, I have had to lie down without food or drink in barns or stables among the brute animals, upon a little straw or sometimes on the hard earth. It cost me immense toil and much time to learn to speak the extremely difficult language of this country, but by God's favour I am master of it now, and can get through all the duties of my office by means of it. My business in these parts has given me and is giving me still the greatest possible anxiety, has caused and is causing me many vigils and much time. What disguises have I not worn, what arts have I not professed: now master, now servant, now musician, now painter, now brassworker, now clockmaker, now physician. I have endeavoured to be all to all that I might save all. I found that such skill as I had acquired in the medical art was most useful for the purpose I had in view, and I have cultivated it and used it generally. But while it readily obtained me access to the sick of whatever age, condition and sex they might be, at the same time it involved me in much anxiety and no little peril."

Bishop James Gordon, after he became coadjutor to

Bishop Nicholson, wrote to Propaganda in 1732 from Aberdeen a eulogy upon the devoted Scotch clergy. "There is not one of them (he says) but does more work than three could do with any degree of convenience. Of this, however, they do not complain; their zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls makes such fatigues easy to them. But to be in real want of the most pressing necessities of life is too much for human nature to bear. How often since I had charge of the mission, with a heart pierced with the deepest grief, have I known these truly apostolic men, after travelling the whole day through snow and rain from one village to another, assisting the sick, assisting converts and comforting the distressed, retire at night to their miserable habitations, where they had neither fire nor meat to relieve oppressed nature. Many have had the heroic charity to lose their lives under these miseries rather than abandon their charges."

But to draw this long story to a conclusion: The year 1745 saw the rising in support of Prince Charlie, the suppression of which was so disastrous to the Catholic cause. That year, however, saw the conversion of that great and good man, the centenary of whose death we are celebrating. The first years of his Catholic life witnessed so terrible a renewal of persecution that in 1751 the cry of suffering of the unfortunate Catholics induced the Pope to appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe to intercede with the English authorities for some mitigation of the oppressive laws. All over the country Catholic houses were burnt down, the cattle of Catholics seized, and the owners left in the most dire poverty; priests were chained together when they could be captured, and one of them, Fr. James Grant, lay for weeks in 1746 in

the prison of Inverness fastened by irons to the leg of an Irish officer.

In spite of the Pope's plea for mercy, active persecution did not cease throughout the land, and one of the first acts of intolerant bigotry, which became known shortly after Dr. Hay became bishop, was that of the laird of Boisdale, which is yet remembered with pity for the perpetrator. Macdonald of South Uist and other islands determined to get rid of his Catholic tenants. The choice was given to them to renounce the faith of their forefathers, or to be evicted from the lands of their clans. They were all Catholics, and, praise be to God, all heroes; for, though their hearts were broken, they chose to leave their native land and all that they loved, and were shipped off to St. John's Island, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, Father James Macdonald going with them as their pastor and friend. It was only a few years later that Bishop Hay took the first steps to put an end to this tyranny of religious fanaticism.

Dr. Johnson, as late as 1773, thus describes the spiritual desolation of the Western Islands as he saw it in his journey through the Hebrides: "It is not only in Raasay that the chapel is unroofed and useless; through the few islands which we visited we neither saw nor heard of any house of prayer, except in Skye, that was not in ruins. The malignant influence of Calvinism has blasted ceremony and decency together; and if the remembrance of papal superstition is obliterated, the monuments of papal piety are likewise effaced.

"It has been for many years popular to talk of the lazy devotion of the Romish clergy; over the sleepy laziness of men that erected churches we may indulge our superiority with a new triumph, by comparing it

with the fervid activity of those who suffer them to fall."

As one looks back over the many decades of persecution, which can only be described by the word "diabolical," we utter the words of the Psalmist: "It is the mercy of the Lord that we are not consumed." Indeed, it is impossible to understand how the Catholic faith could have survived such continuous and long-sustained attempts to stamp it out of existence. That it exists and flourishes to-day is, to all who think, a proof that it is of God and is His work. Why in His mercy He should have permitted this long and bitter chastisement it is not for us to say. We can only confess once more that "His thoughts are not our thoughts, nor His ways our ways." To Him be the glory and honour for ever and ever.

THE MAKERS OF ST. GREGORY'S, DOWNSIDE ¹

"And I heard a voice from heaven, saying to me: Write: Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. From henceforth now, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; for their works follow them."—*Apoc.*, xiv, 13.

THE solemn strains of our requiem almost seem to be lingering still beneath these vaulted roofs. This cry for mercy and peace for the souls of our departed brethren and friends in which we have joined our voices and our hearts will doubtless have carried our thoughts and imaginations back into the past. Sixty years ago now, a service such as this, sung in yonder lowly old chapel, started in the mind of a Catholic layman, who had "come to seek the grace of the high festival" of All Saints, a train of thought which led him in spirit backwards across the Catholic centuries and issued in the great work, *Mores Catholici*. In like manner, on an occasion like this, when, as almost the first celebration we keep in this glorious monastic church, the Holy Sacrifice is offered for our dead, we may well give freedom to our thoughts and let our minds dwell for a while in the past. Now, if ever, is the time to recall the

¹ An address given at the Requiem Mass, during the celebrations, on the opening of Downside Abbey Church, 20th September 1905.

memories of those for whom we have been praying to-day, and who were in a true sense the builders of St. Gregory's—of St. Gregory's as we see it to-day.

Let us go back to the beginnings. Three hundred years ago—that is, in 1605—here in England the Elizabethan form of religion was fully and legally established as one consequence of that Queen's long reign. Sixteen hundred and five, as all will remember, was the year of the Gunpowder Plot—an event, whatever its origin in design and detail, which tended to make the lot of the poor persecuted Catholic, if possible, even more unbearable than it was before. In that year some Benedictines of English nationality, who had found in Spain that liberty to serve God as monks which was denied to them in England, determined, with the leave of their foreign superiors, to establish a house of their Order in which these English men and English monks might work in a more special way for their own country than was possible in a foreign monastery. There was, it must be allowed, reason in their yearnings. England had been—nay, was still, pre-eminently the Benedictine vineyard—the Benedictine Apostolate. Their ancestor, St. Augustine, sent by the Benedictine Gregory, had established his peculiarly Roman Order in the Primatial See of Canterbury, and everywhere throughout the length and breadth of the land, when, but seventy years before this time, the overthrow of religion had come, their monasteries were existing, and for centuries had been spreading blessings abroad. Westminster, St. Albans, Glastonbury, Evesham, Bury and Tewkesbury, with the rest of those great and solemn abbeys as they were called, with Canterbury and Durham, Winchester and Coventry, Ely and Bath, and the other great Cathedral priories, were

ample witnesses of Benedictine activity in the past and of the identification of the Order with the Catholic Church in England. All these were, indeed, lost for ever, but with the courage their forefathers in religion had ever displayed in the earlier days of the conversion and civilisation of Europe, there was no thought of repining, no time or place for useless regrets. What Cardinal Newman has said of the spirit of the early sons of St. Benedict, was true of them. "Down in the dust lay the labours and civilisation of centuries—churches, colleges, cloisters, libraries—and nothing was left to them but to begin all over again; but this they did without grudging, so promptly, cheerfully and tranquilly, as if it were by some law of Nature that the Restoration came, and they were like the flowers and shrubs and fruit trees which they reared, and which, when ill-treated, do not take vengeance or remember evil, but give forth fresh branches, leaves or blossoms, perhaps in greater profusion, or with richer quality for the very reason that the old were broken off."

In this spirit our monastery of St. Gregory was begun. As with all beginnings, there has been something perhaps of obscurity and some elements of doubt about it, but out of all, these facts appear to be clear and certain. Just three centuries ago, when St. Gregory's was in the making, across the seas at Douay, its very foundations were in God's loving kindness sanctified and, I may say, laved in the life-blood of our Benedictine martyrs. First and foremost in the band of those builders of St. Gregory's, who were called upon to give the supreme testimony of their faith and who washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb, stands, of course, the Venerable John Roberts. It was to him, apparently, that the idea

of establishing the English monks at Douay first came. Exiled for his priesthood from England, he and Father Augustine Bradshaw *or* White, obtained permission to open a small house in the Low Countries for the English Fathers of the Spanish Congregation. It is difficult, and, indeed, useless and idle, to try to divide the honours between these two monks. We Gregorians ever desire to look upon both as jointly our founders; but according to one account at least, it was the future martyr who was the first Superior or Prior of St. Gregory's, and the name of the Venerable John Roberts is carved on yonder shield as the first of Gregorian builders. Of him and of Father Bradshaw we are proud, and, as we think, justly proud; of the Venerable John Roberts, inasmuch as when he went forth from the first lowly walls that sheltered the English monks at Douay, to labour again in the vineyard of souls in England, he went, as indeed all his brethren in those days went, with his life in his hands. I have no need to tell his story. He was arrested, tried for his priesthood, condemned to death, and on 10th December 1610 he died as a hero and a martyr on the Tyburn gallows, glorying, as he said, in being "a priest and a monk of the Holy Order of St. Benedict, as were also St. Augustine, St. Lawrence, St. Paulinus and St. Mellitus. As those monks converted our country from unbelief, so," said he to his judge, "I have done what little I could to liberate it from heresy; I leave it to you, Mr. Recorder, and the rest of you, to judge whether this is high treason." The Venerable John Roberts, then, is our first glory. He may be regarded as the main and principal cause of the existence of St. Gregory's, and until the catastrophe of the French Revolution his quartered remains, snatched from an un-

hallowed grave, rested beneath our monastic altar at Douay.

Before John Roberts, however, in point of time, to offer the supreme witness of the faith in martyrdom, was another Gregorian, Father George Gervase, who must be commemorated to-day. As a secular priest, who had worked on the Apostolic Mission, Father Gervase received the Benedictine habit at Douay in 1606, the first year after its foundation. There was at this time an urgent call for priests, and so, returning to England, Father George Gervase suffered death for his faith on 11th April 1608. A third of this noble band of martyrs for religion was Father Maurus Scott. Although a professed monk of the Spanish Congregation, he was nevertheless both affiliated to the new house at Douay, and lived in it for a time as a conventual. He was in prison with the Venerable John Roberts, and was one of those who were charged with kissing the martyr's feet, the night before he suffered. It was on Whitsun Eve, 30th May 1612, that Father Scott was also himself dragged on a hurdle through the streets of London to Tyburn, and there received his martyr's crown.

But even these three heroic sons of St. Gregory's, destined by Providence to suffer death for their faith in the first decade of its existence, were but the first of our Gregorian martyrs. Not to mention the Venerable Mark Barkworth and the Venerable Thomas Tunstall, who, though not connected directly with Douay, were brethren of our other martyrs in the Spanish Congregation, and whose portraits, along with Roberts, Gervase and Scott, adorn the Charter of Abbot Caverel—not to mention these as Gregorians, we have others who in their time witnessed to the faith by their blood. Let us take them

in order: first there is Father Ambrose Barlow, the anniversary of whose death on the scaffold, as a martyr for religion and conscience, by an unforeseen grace of Providence we to-day commemorate. He was professed at Douay in 1616, and laid down his life for the faith on 20th September 1641. Secondly, there is Father Philip Powel (*or* Morgan *or* Prosser), who took the habit at St. Gregory's in 1619, and received the martyr's crown on 30th June 1646; and lastly, in this category, must be named the gentle, humble Brother Thomas Pickering, our lay-brother martyr, whose life was sworn away by the infamous Titus Oates.

Even to this long roll of heroic sons of St. Gregory's we must claim to add two others. One is Father William Ildephonsus Hesketh, who was professed at Douay in 1615, who was worried to death by the Parliamentary troops in Yorkshire, and expired on the roadside on 26th July 1644; the other is the well-known Father Arthur Francis Bell, the Franciscan friar, who for two years before going on the mission, studied his theology under our fathers at St. Gregory's. Father Bell was executed at Tyburn for being a priest, on 11th December 1643.

Of these first beginnings—these first-fruits—these makers of St. Gregory's, we who live in happier times are as justly proud as were our forefathers in religion, who at the time of their martyrdom were engaged in laying the first foundations of St. Gregory's, and who looked on the blood of their martyred brethren as their best surety of success, as the best pledge that the seed they planted would grow to maturity and bring forth much fruit in the service of God. For us, too, it is surely no empty grace to count so many martyrs among our

own brethren in the early days of our beloved monastery—a grace which we should indeed be degenerate sons not to recognise and not from our hearts to be thankful for. I know, indeed, of no religious house in Europe, at least in these later centuries, to which the loving kindness of God has accorded such a privilege as He has in this given unto us.

But the thought of our martyrs has carried me too quickly forward, and for a moment I return to the beginnings of our house at Douay. Whilst Father Augustine Bradshaw was labouring for the establishment of his community, the providence of God was preparing a benefactor in the person of Dom Philip Caverel, Abbot of the Benedictine house of St. Vedast at Arras. His memory must of course be recalled to-day in our celebration, as the first and chiefest of the great benefactors of St. Gregory's. Caverel, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, had been entrusted with several sums of money for ecclesiastical purposes, and had already extended his benefactions to others besides his own Order, when his attention was called to the existence of the struggling little community of English Benedictines. The Abbot immediately turned to his brethren at Douay, and determined to provide them at least with a suitable monastery. The Archduke Albert co-operated with him, and on 15th October 1611 the community of St. Gregory's moved into the new building their generous benefactor had provided for them. Besides handing over to them the house, Abbot Caverel assigned to the English monks a yearly revenue, and during the rest of his life he seemed never to weary of doing kindnesses to his English brethren at St. Gregory's, and assisting the monastery of his predilection. The intimate connection

between the monks of St. Vedast's and those of St. Gregory's, first formed by Caverel's munificence, lasted unbroken to the days of the French Revolution, and the name of Caverel is still, let us hope, remembered by us all in our prayers. Without his aid, under God, our House might never have been. By a strange and striking irony of fate, we alone are the heirs of all his works. What he did for England, alone of all his undertakings, has lasted to our days. His own immense Abbey of St. Vedast, which he rebuilt, with all its vast possessions and all its great resources, with its large community and with its commanding influence, has passed away, leaving no trace behind it of its corporate existence. The Abbot's very tomb, removed from his destroyed abbey church of St. Vedast, may to-day be seen decaying and neglected in Arras Cathedral. St. Gregory's alone remains; and so, to-day, as a record to our own eternal indebtedness to Caverel, we have carved his arms nearest to our altar in this majestic choir, and in memory of his abbey we have dedicated a chapel to St. Vedast. These are but the symbols that his memory is ever green within our hearts, and that his name is ever remembered in our prayers.

One other name of those early times must be recalled on a day such as this, not that it is specially connected with our monastery, except in so far as it is connected with every monastery of our beloved English Benedictine Congregation. I need hardly say (at least to you, my Benedictine brethren) that I refer to the name of Buckley. Of all the members of the more than three hundred Benedictine houses overthrown in England between the years 1536 and 1540, one sole survivor was apparently left alive in the year 1607. Sigebert Buckley had been

one of those professed by Abbot Feckenham at Westminster, during the temporary revival of that monastery in the reign of Queen Mary. In 1607 he was the last survivor of that old English Benedictine Congregation, which went back into the past to the very days of St. Augustine. His life, since the overthrow of religion by Queen Elizabeth, had been spent mostly in prison; and now old, infirm, and almost blind, on 21st November 1607—our *dies memorabilis*—he gave the habit to two priests, and handed on the rights and privileges of the ancient English Benedictines to us—an act which was afterwards solemnly ratified by the Holy See. To-day, I am very sure, we have all recalled this cherished memory, for it is the glory and the boast of us English Benedictines that there never has been with us any breach of continuity with Catholic England, but through the link of Dom Sigebert Buckley we go back in an unbroken Benedictine line to the first Apostle of our race.

And now, in our annals, there appears the name of a Gregorian who without doubt must be commemorated to-day—Father Leander a Sto Martino. This great and saintly man was thrice Prior of our House at Douay, and also President-General of our Congregation. Father Serenus Cressy says of him that he was “for his piety and universal learning famous throughout Christendom.” Father Leander alas! lived in difficult times, not alone for our Benedictine Congregation, but for the Catholics in England. He was a man of consummate prudence and inexhaustible patience, and to him, more than to any other single individual, was due the issue of the difficult negotiations by which the Benedictine Englishmen of Spain and Italy were happily united into the reorganised English Congregation. The personal friend

of Archbishop Laud and of the statesman Windebank, whose esteem and friendship he never lost, Father Leander was entrusted with a commission from the Holy See to utilise these connections in an endeavour to mitigate the hard lot of the Catholics of England, to smooth their domestic differences, and to bring them peace. He was a man of great parts, and a religious of special distinction—one of whom any Church might well be proud. His days were spent in seeking peace and ensuing it. He was a lover of his brethren, of the priesthood, and of his country, and St. Gregory's may well salute him on this day of many memories, as one of the most saintly, one of the greatest and most gifted of its sons.

After Father Leander let me in one sentence recall the memory of one much connected with him and his work—Father Rudesind Barlow. He was the fifth Prior of our house. A man of great erudition and looked upon as one of the first divines and canonists of his age, he ruled the English Congregation with firmness and yet with true Benedictine mildness and consideration. Much of the early success of St. Gregory's must be attributed to this true monk. By another happy and wholly unforeseen chance, we kept yesterday—the first day of this great celebration—the anniversary of his death.

Two other names in the early days of our monastery come to the mind to-day and seem to demand a passing notice. The first is that of Father Augustine Baker, the second is that of Father Hugh Serenus Cressy. Father Baker, indeed, was a member of the Dieulouard—St. Lawrence's—community, but he spent a considerable time—in fact most of his conventual life—at St. Gregory's; and his influence, as an ascetic and as a true

master of the spiritual life, was, long after he had passed away, felt and acknowledged by our Gregorian brethren. He was long revered by our Catholic forefathers as one of the chief mystical theologians produced during the evil days of the religious persecution. He was likewise a true historian, as well as a writer of spiritual treatises, and whilst labouring as a collector of documents he was greatly assisted by the personal friendship of the antiquarians Sir Robert Cotton, Selden, Spelman, and William Camden. We have the result of his researches into Benedictine history in the *Apostolatus*, which although ascribed to the name of Father Clement Reyner, was mainly Father Baker's work. But his chief claim to fame will always be that of a spiritual writer of great excellence, best understood by those who desire most to make progress in the simple paths of perfection. Among his spiritual children at St. Gregory's was the future martyr, of whom I have spoken—Father Philip Powell. It is impossible not to record the deep debt of gratitude which our House owes to this really saintly religious. Not alone by his teaching, but by his holy conversation he drew many souls to God, and his work at Douay bore much fruit. "He brought many religious," says one writer, "from a tepid life to a fervent practice of prayer, and drew many secular youths from their sinful exercises to a life of devotion and some also to a state of religious profession."

Of Father Serenus Cressy, I here need only say that he came to us as a convert to the faith, after holding the dignities of Canon of Windsor and Dean of Leighlin in the Established Church. He was a model religious, faithful and fervent in all his duties. Coming to us as a scholar with a reputation gained in the schools of his

University, he became a distinguished author and historian. He was responsible for systematising and arranging Father Baker's spiritual tractates, in the well-known volume *Sancta Sophia*; and his own *Church History* is a monument of diligence. He died at Somerset House, in 1674.

I could name many another worthy son of old St. Gregory's in the first century of its existence; but I must pass rapidly onward. So far I have said nothing of the school for boys, which almost from the commencement has existed as an integral part of St. Gregory's service to the Church in England. Among the penal laws in force in England in those days was one directed against Catholic education. If a Catholic kept a school, he was punished by imprisonment for life; and to send a child abroad for education rendered the parent liable to outlawry and to the confiscation of all his property to the State. The object of the law was to force compliance to the State religion, to make obedience to the civil power take the place of conscience, and to eradicate Catholic principles from the minds of the young by securing their education in the religion established by law. Like the Israelites of old in Egypt, who, when prevented from worshipping the God of their fathers, went forth out of that house of bondage, many Catholic families emigrated to foreign lands to secure liberty of worship according to their conscience, and to secure for their children the religion of their forefathers. Other parents, risking for conscience' sake the penalties of the law, sent their children abroad, to obtain that religious training which was denied them at home. It was, then, through the demand caused by the action of these heroic, true Catholics, that it became necessary to estab-

lish English colleges abroad for the reception of English youth; and amongst others—such as the great secular college at Douay and the celebrated Jesuit house of St. Omer—from the first such a school existed at St. Gregory's. In this relation the name of Father Augustine Moore should be recalled in this celebration. To later generations of Gregorians Father Augustine is perhaps best known by the fact that it was he who employed the musician Faboulrier to write what became, during many generations, our traditional Church music. But there was really much more than this in his wise rule over the destinies of St. Gregory's, as prior during the twenty years from 1755 to 1775, that should be remembered by us with gratitude. It was to him and to his energy that was due the erection, in 1769, of the college block of buildings at Douay, which exists even to the present day, and which served our brethren of St. Edmund's as their monastery, and in great part as their college, until the recent anti-religious movement in France deprived them of this shelter. Once more let me here record our Gregorian indebtedness to the Abbey of St. Vedast. The community of that abbey subscribed a sum of nearly £5,000 to the building of this new college.

Troubles of many kinds marked the last years of St. Gregory's at Douay. Into these I need not enter, for we are nearing the great catastrophe. The thunder-cloud of Revolution, which had long threatened France, was gathering and at last broke, sweeping the monks away from the English home they had made for themselves, during two centuries of life in a foreign land. It was on Wednesday 16th October 1793 that the community, or rather the remnant of it then at Douay, was carried off by the soldiers of the revolutionary government from

Douay to Doullens. Father Jerome Sharrock was then their prior, and there were with him then but five other priests in all. Some had been sent over to England with the boys, on the first signs of the coming storm; others had escaped during the weeks of suspense; two lay brothers, whose age and infirmities did not allow them to travel, were allowed to remain behind. One of them died shortly after, broken-hearted at the desolation which had overtaken his old home.

Together with the monks of St. Gregory's, forty-one members of the secular college at Douay found themselves companions of their imprisonment. For thirteen months these secular priests and Benedictines shared all the hardships of a rigorous confinement in the prison at Doullens, leading together in fraternal charity and peace a life of continuous and regulated prayer and study. "Greater cordiality and union could not exist between brothers," writes one of these secular priests in after years, "than existed between the English Benedictines and us. And at this day I and others cherish the recollection of the Black Hole, the garret and other circumstances of our confinement, with a soothing satisfaction for the acquisition of six such friends as Mr. Sharrock, Mr. Lorymer, Mr. Lord, Mr. Baker, Mr. Eldridge, and Mr. Barber. *Animas candidiores nusquam tulit tellus.*" They all had one great consolation in their confinement. Our Benedictine brethren had just time, before the arrival of the gendarmes, to secrete a chalice, an altar stone and other necessities for celebrating Mass; and thus they and their secular brethren were enabled in their confinement secretly to offer up the adorable Sacrifice. The account of these Sunday celebrations reads like a story of the catacombs in the days of the early

persecutions; and the chalice they used at this time is still preserved here at St. Gregory's, as one of our most precious possessions, and was used to-day in the Holy Mass just offered for the souls of our dead.

Our imprisoned English fathers were released on 24th November 1794. After a brief stay in their ruined house at Douay, our brethren landed in England on 2nd March in the following year. And here I must record, with the heartfelt gratitude of all Gregorians, the name of Smythe. Poor and homeless, the remnant of the scattered community of St. Gregory's reached their native land to experience a warm and genuine welcome from one of their old Douay students. Before the monks had been imprisoned at Doullens, Prior Jerome Sharrock had received a warm letter from Sir Edward Smythe, written at the first rumours of difficulties, inviting them to come and stay at his family seat of Acton Burnell. Thither the monks made their way upon their arrival in England; and in a very brief time they gathered together those who had preceded them, and had settled down to their old life in their new surroundings. Their generous benefactor appeared unable to do sufficient for his old masters and friends. He gave up part of his mansion, and new buildings were soon added for their school, which had been started at once under the title of "Acton Burnell College." "Under this good confessor for the faith, D. Jerome Sharrock," says a modern writer, "monastic observance began once more to flourish on English soil, and until he died, in 1808, he spent himself in forming his community in piety and learning. Humble and full of merit, he constantly refused the dignity of the episcopal office, which was offered to him, for he loved more to work for the

good of his monastery, which was the very apple of his eye."

And now comes Downside. Obviously the settlement at Acton Burnell was but temporary. All felt that it would be impossible to trespass upon the generosity of the Smythe family for longer than was necessary, and Father Richard Kendal, who had succeeded to the priorship on the death of Father Sharrock, had been for a long time on the look-out for a suitable spot in which to settle. This was at length found; and on 25th March 1814 Downside was purchased by Prior Kendal. Providence, however, did not destine the prior to see his community settle at Downside, for on his return from purchasing the estate he was taken ill, and died at Wootton Wawen in Warwickshire. The name of Prior Richard Kendal should ever be held in benediction by all Gregorians. The six years of his priorship had been one long struggle to gather together the ways and means with which to establish his community in some permanent home. He had no other thought but that of serving his brethren. Whatever his right hand found to do, he did it with all his might. In this he has set us all an example of single-minded devotion to duty and a determination to be faithful to our service, even to the end.

It is obvious that St. Gregory's had to begin once more to reconstruct everything. The catastrophe that had befallen it in France left the community in great financial difficulties, especially as, not so many years before, much of its small capital had been expended on the new buildings at Douay now entirely lost to it. If it was able to meet the strain successfully, this was owing to the care which had been expended upon the finances

of the house by three successive Gregorians, who lived in London and acted as agents and procurators for their monastery. Their names are, I am sure, well known to all of us, but even for all that we owe to them their names should find a mention in this celebration. The first in order was Dom Placid Howard, of the Corby branch of the family of that name. He so successfully watched over the small funded moneys of his House, during the period from 1738 to 1761, that it doubled itself in his hands. He was succeeded by Father Bede Bennet, who had been trained by him, and who for well nigh forty years spared no pains to carry on this work for his monastery. Father Bennet's memory is kept alive amongst us by the yearly Masses we offer for his soul, in recognition of all we, as a community, owe to him. He died in 1800, and was succeeded in his office by Father Michael Lorymer, who had been his assistant for over ten years, and who continued, till in turn he became old and infirm, in that zealous service for his brethren of St. Gregory's. He was succeeded by one whom many of us have known well—Father Dunstan Scot—the last of our London procurators. For all these we should have a grateful memory and a prayer to-day.

Prior Kendal's death, on the eve of the departure of the community of St. Gregory's from Acton Burnell to Downside, was indeed a great blow, and it materially added to the difficulties of the situation. Father Augustine Lawson was chosen his successor, and only a month later, on 28th April 1814 the monks and boys left for their new home. Their leader was an old Maurist monk and a former disciple of the great Montfaucon, Dom Leveaux, who had made his home with the monks

of St. Gregory's. Spending one night on the way, the little band arrived at Downside on 29th April, to find that their furniture and effects which were coming by canal to Paulton had not yet arrived. What made it worse was that the large bare house, which had been for some time untenanted, was neither aired nor warmed, nor prepared in any way for their coming. It speaks highly, indeed, for the discipline and monastic observance of those times, to hear that the Superior never dreamed of allowing the inconveniences and difficulties of those first days to be an excuse for any mitigation of the rule. The ordinary routine of St. Gregory's as a conventual establishment began at once; and from the first hour choir was observed and studies at once commenced, although even the books had not as yet arrived at Downside.

For a moment let us go back in thought to 1814, and try to picture to ourselves the condition of Catholics when Prior Lawson and his community took up their abode here. This western ecclesiastical district dated from the time of James II, and the Benedictine Bishop Ellis of this House was the first Vicar Apostolic. It comprised eight counties, together with North and South Wales. It had few Catholics in the entire district; and, at the time of which I speak, religion was said to be declining, and the number of Catholics yearly diminishing. Indeed, it is described in a report at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as having but few Catholics and fewer priests. In 1815, the year after St. Gregory's was settled here, an account sent to Rome states that in the whole district there were but 5,500 Catholics, and only forty-three priests in all, including those belonging to this community. The position, too, of Catholics gener-

ally, was thought to be anything but secure at this time, and there were many who held that repressive measures against Papists were certain to be re-enacted in Parliament, by which the Catholic body would be again ground down with all the rigour of enforced penal enactments.

The outlook, to say the least, was not satisfactory or hopeful for the chances of a successful beginning for our House. In these circumstances, and with the chance of getting back our property at Douay, there were divided counsels at St. Gregory's in the first years of its establishment at Downside. Some of the community—and the old men especially who had known and loved their old home abroad, were for giving up their newly acquired property at once and returning to France; the greater part of the then existing community were, however, for remaining in their own country. The weight and authority of General Chapter and of the President and his advisers was on the side of those who desired to sell Downside for what it would fetch, and cross the sea again to their old house at Douay. In fact, an order was actually given to that effect. By the providence of God, however, the bulk of the conventuals stood firm in resolutely refusing to give up their new establishment at Downside. Their attitude gave the time necessary for reflection, and by the close of 1816 the President was induced to rescind his former order for their immediate return to Douay, and the future of Downside was secured.

In 1818 Father Lawson was succeeded as Prior by Father Luke Bernard Barber, a young man, but one who was destined to save St. Gregory's and to establish it on a firm basis. Of him, therefore, we, who have enjoyed the fruits of his early labours, should be ever mindful,

and should not forget him in our prayers. It had long been evident that if the community hoped to prosper at Downside, the building of a college and of a chapel must be undertaken without delay. Prior Barber, with all the vigour of youth, entered into the project, the first stone of the building was laid on 11th July 1820, and it was opened three years later. For those days, Father Barber's was a wonderful achievement, and to the boys and community it was indeed the beginning of brighter and happier times.

Two or three names among the monks in the community in the time of Prior Barber claim our remembrance and our gratitude for what they did for St. Gregory's and to enhance its reputation. Let me first name John Bede Polding. He had, indeed, finished his studies and had joined the community when they were yet at Acton Burnell, and in the first decade of their life at Downside he may be said to have been the chief mainstay of their existence. As prefect in the new college, and afterwards as novice master, he impressed his strong character upon those he had under his charge. "It would take long," writes one of his first novices fifty years later—"It would take long to tell of the vigorous vitality of that novitiate and of the work it accomplished in your disciples. A stronger will brought ours into action until we learnt to respond to each call of duty with promptitude and to abide in peace when duty gave no sign. Happy, thrice happy were those simple times, when all around was edification—when the probations and prunings that we underwent left no wound or sore, so confident were we of their aim and intention." But even amidst his cares at Downside, Father Bede Polding had visions of a call to wider fields of missionary and apos-

tolic work. The summons came before he could be well spared from Downside. In 1833 he was nominated to the see of Madras; but on representations from the community he was excused for the moment. It was but for the moment, however; for almost immediately he was made the first bishop of Australia. His labours there justly entitle him to be accounted one of the greatest and most apostolic missionaries of modern times, and he enjoys the proud distinction of being the father of the great Australian Church and the founder of its hierarchy, of which he became the first head, as Archbishop of Sydney.

Another of the younger monks to come from Acton Burnell to Downside had already, in 1831, been consecrated a bishop. This was William Placid Morris, who was made Visitor-Apostolic of the Mauritius, in those days a vast district now governed by more than fifty prelates. In fact, he used to say that at one time he was bishop of half the world. He retired in 1840, and as Bishop of Troy, for many years he acted as practical auxiliary to Cardinal Wiseman. He lies buried in yonder chapel; and to him, in part at least, Downside is indebted for its present monastic buildings, so that for this alone he must be remembered in our present celebration as one of our chief benefactors.

Connected with the names of Polding and Morris comes to the mind the memory of Archbishop Ullathorn, the Nestor of our restored English hierarchy. Coming to Downside late in life, he was one of the five youths who became Father Bede Polding's first novices in 1814. Eight years later Father William Bernard Ullathorne was sent by Bishop Morris to New South Wales as his Vicar-General, for at that time the vast

continent of Australia, together with the Colonies at the Cape, were ecclesiastically subject to the Bishop of the Mauritius. What Father Ullathorne did in Australia is well known to all Gregorians, if not to the wider world, for to him more than to any other man is due the amelioration of the awful conditions under which our convicts lived; and subsequently, the abolition of transportation to Botany Bay altogether. In Father Ullathorne's opinion, the appointment of a bishop was necessary for Australia; and by his recommendation his old novice master, to whose missionary zeal he could testify, was, as I have just said, appointed. Of Bishop Ullathorne's work in England I need say nothing. Most of us have known him as one of the great ecclesiastics of the Church in modern England. His was a real personality; and there is no Gregorian, I am sure, who is not proud to think that he was one of ourselves, and who will not with prayers for his eternal rest, commemorate his memory on this day, at which he would have so much rejoiced, especially did he know that the outward glory of this temple was but a sign of the inward spirit of all those who worship here.

Once again at this time the call came to St. Gregory's to give one more of her best sons for the work of the episcopate. And indeed, it is at least remarkable, that at a time when there was great need at home for workers and capable leaders in this community, Alma Mater never appears to have grudged, or to have repined at, the claims that were made upon her. Bishop Thomas Joseph Brown had been the first to take his vows at Downside. He was a brilliant student, and became an indefatigable teacher and a true tower of strength both in the monastery and in the school. He was deeply versed in

theology, and was accounted in his day a controversialist of great power. After filling nearly every office in the monastery, including, of course, the priorship, he was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of the Western District in 1840. Ten years later, in the restored hierarchy, he became first bishop of Newport and Menevia, which see he governed till his death in 1880.

Again in 1848, Father Charles Henry Davis, who had done and was then still doing good work at Downside, was selected to be first bishop of Maitland in Australia. He was a loss to Downside, but he did not live long in his new sphere of action, dying prematurely in 1854. Lastly, in this connection, let me recall to your memory the name of Roger Bede Vaughan. He entered the school here in the year 1850, and succeeded Father Sweeney as Cathedral Prior of Belmont. In 1873 he was consecrated as coadjutor to Archbishop Polding, and followed him as Archbishop of Sydney in 1877. His death, as you will all remember, was sudden. He was found dead in his bed the day after he arrived in England on a visit, 18th August 1883. His was, as so many of us remember, a most captivating personality, and the good he wrought in Australia will never be fully known. His lectures were attended by vast crowds, such as have never been gathered together in Sydney by any other speaker; and a non-Catholic politician has declared that there never was any one in the Australian continent to possess so great an influence and power over the masses as did Archbishop Vaughan. Many of us have known him and loved him: let us not forget him in our prayers.

In the persons, then, of Archbishops Ullathorne, Polding and Vaughan, and in that of Bishop Davis, the first bishop of Maitland, St. Gregory's may justly claim to

have had the making and the founding of the great Church of Australia in general, and of the Archiepiscopal see of Sydney in particular. Besides those six archbishops and bishops whom I have named, as having been called almost in one generation to the episcopal office from the ranks of the Gregorian community, three others may be recorded as having been chosen, but who succeeded in escaping the dignity and responsibilities. These are Father James Jerome Sharrock, Father Luke Bernard Barber and Father Peter Wilson, all of these being at the time of their selection priors of St. Gregory's.

And now I must finish. Numbers of other names—names of those who in later times have helped to build up St. Gregory's, will of course suggest themselves to you, as they do to me on a celebration such as this. But thoughts of men like Abbots Sweeney, Smith and Raynal, not to name others like Fathers Oswald Davis and Placid de Paiva, are not so much memories to most of us as present and abiding realities. We have come down, indeed, to the times in which we ourselves have lived; and which of us can forget those who have had an influence over our own lives and have helped to make us what we are?

What shall I say in conclusion? For three hundred years St. Gregory's has existed in sunshine and in storm, in sorrow and in prosperity. Its history speaks to us all in the first place, and so clearly, of God's watchful Providence over our beloved House. *Qui confidunt in Domino sicut mons Sion.* As hills were round about Jerusalem to protect it, so the history of St. Gregory's surely shows us that God has been the almost visible protector of His servants; and if He has brought us to see the days of this solemn dedication of a church less un-

worthy of the Majesty that is to dwell therein, may we not think that we have here a pledge and an evidence that we have not laboured in vain to build the house, for the mighty God hath laboured with us. And the past, as we hope and pray, is but the pledge of the time to come. The work our forefathers were called upon to do for God and His Church has most certainly to be continued by us. It is a common work in which we are all united, in which the least amongst us has his share and part. It is a work of which the centre and strength is here, and this monastic church is the symbol of that strength of spirit by which alone all is to be accomplished when the call comes. To all sooner or later God's summons is given, and we should be but degenerate sons of an illustrious line of forefathers in religion, if when our turn comes we are not found ready to bear our part, and hand on the spirit—the unselfish, single-minded spirit of St. Gregory's—to those who will come after us. The need of workmen is not less at the dawn of the new century than it has been in the past, and it behoves us to be ready. It is to the example of the makers of St. Gregory's in the past that we must look for courage. If it be God's work it will succeed. To God then let us look. "Praise ye the Lord our God who hath not forsaken them that hope in Him" (Judith, xiii, 17). To Him and His name alone be all glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

FRANCE AND THE VATICAN¹

FOR some time past the relations between the French Government and the Pope have been stretched to the breaking point. For the most part the press has thrown the blame for the situation upon the Vatican authorities, and has suggested that, with a new Pope, unaccustomed to the ways of diplomacy, and with a youthful and uncompromising Cardinal Secretary of State as his chief adviser, nothing less could be expected than that the Church in France would be precipitated into a serious conflict with a government none too friendly towards it at any time. The publication recently of what is called *The Vatican White Book*, containing all the official documents which have passed between Paris and Rome on the questions at issue, has helped to modify men's opinions as to the quarter which must be held responsible for the acute tension which exists at present. They have come to see that the assertions, made by M. Combes and his followers, that the Pope had deliberately chosen to break the agreement made between Pius VII and the Emperor Napoleon in 1801, by which the relations between Church and State were to be regulated in France, were untrue in fact. To

¹ An address given in the cathedral of St. Paul, Min., U.S.A., in September 1904: in substance it formed the inaugural address at the C. T. S. Conference at Liverpool in 1903.

understand, however, the real religious situation in France it is necessary to recognise the principles at issue between the French Government and the Vatican. To grasp these effectively we must go back a long way—even to the year 1789. Between religion and the world, or, let us say, between the Church and the State, history teaches us—even if we had not our Lord's own forecast of the relations to be expected—that there must at times arise difficulties more or less grave. Three solutions only of the relation between them are possible. (1) There may be a national religion; (2) or a concordat between the Holy See and the State; or (3) complete separation. All these three solutions have been tried in France since the year 1789.

The first—the *nationalisation* of the Church—was tried in the revolutionary period of 1790-95, and of course it failed utterly for obvious reasons. The civil constitution of the clergy was drawn up in full accord with the principles of the Revolution then in vogue. France had professedly gone back to the pagan world for its patterns and its models, and the official conception of religion, derived therefrom, was that it was a function of the State. There was to be a *pontifex* as there was to be a *consul*, and the priest was to be a moral officer, a preaching magistrate, a "fonctionnaire" with a State licence and a State position, set apart to work in the State department of religion. The scheme failed, mainly because the designers took no account of the fact that all real religion was essentially something apart from the natural order. All history teaches us plainly that religion must exist, and always has existed, only in so far as it corresponds to a need of humanity which the state has no power to satisfy. If in 1790 the Catholic

Church could have allowed itself to be absorbed into the State in the way proposed, it would have lost its vital principle. It would have ceased to be the Catholic Church. "It would have ceased to be a faith, or indeed even a thought or sentiment, and have become a mere fashion."

"From 1790 to 1795," says that acute writer and eminent member of the *Académie Française*, M. Emile Faguet, "the clergy and the constituents were entirely wrong in their idea of a Church." They were wrong precisely because they did not understand that religion has to do with *country* and not with government, and that the functions of the government are not the same as those of "the country." The Catholic religion, precisely because it is Catholic, is universal, and is the same religion existing in all countries. It assumes national characteristics, it is true, in different countries: it is Spanish in Spain, English in England, Italian in Italy, and American in the United States of America. It is, however, the *same* religion in all countries for this reason: if it be Catholic, religion as religion can be fashioned and formed by no government; it cannot be cast in any one stereotyped mould; it can never be made into an official department of any one State.

The third solution—separation of Church and State—was tried in A.D. 1795. The idea had indeed always been prominent during the period of the Revolution, but when the actual separation came, the religious *régime* of the *Directoire* lasted only two and a half years. After a brief period for consideration and experiment, Napoleon I in 1801 entered into the *Concordat* with Pius VII, about which we have lately heard much, and by which the government of the Church in France is still regulated. Some such agreement between the Pope and the

temporal rulers of France was of course nothing new. In one form or other, indeed, it had existed from the time of the great Saint Louis. The treaty between Francis I and Pope Leo X as to the government of the Church in France, endeavoured to remove all ordinary causes of friction by a careful and well-defined division of the purely spiritual sphere from those temporal adjuncts necessary to a Church endowed with great possessions. Even up to the eve of the Great Revolution this method of solving difficulties which might arise between Church and State was in force, and it was found in practice to work well. In reality it is to the existence of this ancient concordat that M. Hanotaux the statesman, diplomatist, and historian, attributes the fact that France was saved to the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century, when the great religious revolt of the Reformation involved so many other countries.

In coming to his agreement with the Holy See about the government of the Church in 1801, Napoleon was certainly not actuated by any love for the religion of his country. To him it was a mere matter of State politics. It was pressingly necessary, for instance, to wipe out that great debt which the nation owed to the Church on account of the confiscations of ecclesiastical property in the Revolution. This settlement required the Pope's direct sanction, and the writing-off, or remission of the greater part of this amount was the price paid by the Church for that measure of protection to religion, secured by the Concordat. It must be remembered that the guaranteed, though slender, stipends promised to be paid to the clergy by the State formed but a small fraction of the old ecclesiastical revenues. Napoleon, too, thought he saw in the Concordat a means of riveting on

the hands of the priests the chains which already bound them to the government and fettered their freedom of action. Had he been dealing with any human institution this crafty plan for keeping the Church in servitude would in all probability have succeeded. Looking back, however, over the century that has passed, it must strike any reflecting mind how wonderful has been the action and progress of the Church of France in spite of its legalised bonds. Napoleon hoped to find in the clergy so governed, hampered in their action, and kept intentionally in practical poverty, what he called his "*gendarmérie spirituelle*"—his moral policemen—whose duty and whose interest it would be to support his new imperial throne. And certainly the Church of France during the nineteenth century, in ceasing to be rich, in being kept dependent upon the miserable State stipends allotted to the clergy, has indeed lost much of its freedom. Its clergy indeed would have become—or let us say might have become—the mere functionaries of the government, which Napoleon had looked for, but for the fact that for spiritual purposes they had in Rome and the Pope a rallying point, outside the limits of their own kingdom. As the direct, though unforeseen, result of Napoleon's policy they, in fact, became more and more part of the great cosmopolitan body of the Church Catholic. Their very servitude and their poverty are at least sufficient to account for this most significant fact—that the very name "Gallican Church" has now become obsolete, and has passed into the domain of the ecclesiastical archaeologist.

Whether under the Empire, the Monarchy, or the Republic, the great Church of France during the nineteenth century has done its duties as well, and as conscientiously,

as before the Revolution. Its work, however, has not been accomplished in peace. At times the Church has had to fight for the very principles of its existence, as it will now again have to do with vigour and determination. The Church of Christ has always claimed, and will always claim, liberty to speak, to write, and to teach. In no other way could it fulfil its divine mission. It could not help doing this: and in so acting it necessarily defied the omnipotence claimed by the State, whenever it endeavoured to stop its freedom of action in all such matters as pertained to its spiritual mission. In one thing, for instance, its protests and struggles were necessary for its very life, and at times this brought about great conflicts in the first half of the last century. "Liberty of association," about which we have heard so much during the past years, did not really exist in a legal sense in France, and the Church's action was greatly hampered by this. "Association," says a great French writer, who is not a Catholic, "is the form and indeed the essence of the Church's life. By definition, and etymology even, the Church is an association." The Church in France existed indeed legally as a body, but in the view and theory of the secular government it existed merely as a body of officials belonging to one administration regulated by the State. No association, whether for spreading the faith, for promoting good works, for purposes even of edification or teaching, was contemplated by the law, although the Church never ceased for a moment to vindicate for herself and to claim this liberty "as essential to her development, her life and her very existence." Beyond this the clergy claimed full liberty to teach. Why should they not do so? As citizens, priests, according to every principle of freedom and

justice, would seem to have equal rights with every son of France; and as clergy, they demanded for Christian parents the right to have their children taught as they would desire. The State, however, put forward a claim to manage and control the education of its citizens; and then came the conflict. The Church, of course, resisted the demand of the State to be the sole educator, first, by resting on claims of freedom, the "Declaration of the rights of man," and the first principles of citizenship, and then by demanding to be treated according to these principles of liberty. In 1849, after much conflict, the Church won for herself the right of teaching her sons; or rather the vote of the people gave it to her, and it is this liberty to teach which has been already partially denied to her, and which we to-day see wholly threatened by the open foes of religion, on the specious pretext that to allow the Church to teach is to place too much political power in her hands. But, whatever may be the outcry raised on this point, it is at least interesting to note that the present state of political power in France hardly seems to show that the Church has, through education, possessed herself of much undue influence, during the half century she has been occupied as the chief instructor of the nation.

We may now turn to the situation of the religious Orders in France, and to a consideration of the legal status which they possessed since the Concordat of 1801 and until recent times. It has been frequently asserted that in the agreement made by Napoleon with the Pope the religious Orders were purposely excluded. It is, indeed, true that in the days of the French Revolution, by the legislation of 1789 and subsequent years, the French religious Congregations were suppressed, and also that

they are not specifically mentioned in the restoration of religion under the Concordat. But it has been shown conclusively by the Comte de Mun that they are really included in the first articles of that treaty between the Pope and the Emperor, which guarantees the "full and free exercise of the Roman Catholic, Apostolic religion." How can there be a "full and free exercise" of the Catholic religion when the regular or religious life is prohibited and excluded? Is not the regular life, though, perhaps, not absolutely necessary to the essence of the Christian faith, certainly an integral part of its full development? Will anyone be found to deny this? Moreover, the work of the Comte Boulay de la Meurthe on *la négociation du Concordat*, makes it certain that the Pope especially desired and strongly urged that the case of the religious Orders should be expressly mentioned in the document, and that the First Consul (*i.e.*, Napoleon) was unwilling to include them, not because they were thought to be prohibited, but precisely because he desired that they should be regarded as purely religious societies, not needing State recognition and depending for their creation and regulation upon "a Brief (of the Sovereign Pontiff) should he deem it expedient." If other proof were wanting that the Concordat in no way contemplated the suppression of the regular Orders or their prohibition, we should still have the fact that in spite of the laws of 1789, 1790, and of 1792; in spite of the silence of the Concordat; even in spite of Article XI of the *Organic Articles*, which were no part of the Concordat, the religious congregations had already appeared in France three or four years before the date of the Concordat. Houses, convents, schools, and hospitals had been opened by religious not merely in secret, not merely

with the tacit recognition of the Government, but with the direct approval and encouragement of the State. "I ask of any man of good faith," writes M. de Mun, "whether in the face of these facts it is possible to pretend that the silence of the Concordat can be interpreted as meaning the suppression of the religious congregations."

From the time of the reconstruction of social order under Napoleon as Consul, for many years, and probably for half a century, it was, however, considered useful for religious Congregations to secure the protection of the State by obtaining *authorisation* under some *Ordonnance*, or patent, issued by the existing civil authority. In this way, whether under the Empire, the Monarchy, or the Republic, large numbers of religious houses and Congregations became known as *authorised*. Side by side with these, however, there grew up other bodies which did not desire or indeed ask for State recognition. The tendency certainly has been for these latter—the unauthorised bodies—to increase in number, especially since 1877, and in consequence of the uncertainty which followed the Ferry Laws of 1880. It has been suggested, and, at least in the British press, it has been frequently asserted as incontrovertible, or what is the same, assumed as self evident, that the existence of the non-authorised religious bodies (which were in 1900 even more numerous than the authorised Congregations) was undoubtedly illegal and prohibited by the law of the land. This is a completely wrong view of their position. The laws of 1817 and 1825 required authorisation only in the case of bodies which desired to obtain State recognition, in order to secure advantages which come from the possession of the civil personality secured by a legal existence

as recognised corporations. Until the recent law of 1901 the non-authorised Congregations, though not recognised by the State, were not in any way illicit or illegal. It is necessary to bear this in mind, because it has been the policy of M. Combes to suggest the opposite, and to endeavour to rob the Congregations of the sympathy of law-abiding people, by representing them as rebels and law-breakers who did not dare to place themselves in relation with the State. "It cannot be too often repeated," says the Comte de Mun, "that until 1st July 1901, the non-recognised Congregations were within their rights (in remaining non-authorised); their existence was licit though they could claim no civil personality or advantage as corporations acknowledged by the law."

Authorisation, then, gave to the religious houses that possessed it merely a *legal* status, and it was M. Waldeck-Rousseau's professed wish by his Bill of 1901 to extend to all religious the opportunity to *regularise* their position—that is, to obtain civil recognition. He was anxious—if we may accept his reiterated expressions—whilst making unauthorised Congregations *henceforth* illegal in France, to extend the approval of the State to all religious bodies applying for it, and complying with certain formal conditions, such as making a general statement of the ends and object of their institutions, and of the extent of their property and means of support.

Better informed, no doubt, as to the real intentions of the party possessing power in France than those who relied upon the words of M. Waldeck-Rousseau and on his reiterated assertions that the object of his Bill was not to destroy the Orders, but to afford them a legal position in the State, some religious bodies found refuge and

freedom in other countries to serve God in religion. They preferred expatriation—which means so much to the sons of fair France—to those greater evils that might perhaps befall them if they asked for an authorisation which they foresaw would certainly be denied them by the avowed enemies of religion. Many, even among Catholics, at the time thought those who thus early gave up the struggle to vindicate the right of every free man to serve God in religious life, were ill advised, and that the future would prove them to have read the signs of the times wrongly. Unfortunately this has not been the case; but the fate of those monks and nuns who, with full faith and trust in the honesty of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, made their applications for authorisation, has shown how little honesty, or justice, or fair dealing remains to-day in the Government of France.

Of those religious that remained, fifty-four Congregations of men and a great number of Congregations of women (said to comprise in all some six thousand houses) sent in their applications for recognition. Most of these had long been established on the soil of France, and could show a good record of work done for God and their country. A great many, for three-quarters of a century, had openly carried out the purposes for which they were established without let or hindrance; they had been in constant and official communication with the departments of State in regard to their work, and they had enjoyed the confidence and respect of the public authorities in the places where their good works were carried on. They came in all good faith to the French Assembly to submit to the new regulations, and to ask for the authorisation now for the first time required by the new law.

The case of some was peculiar. Their submission to

the law was really the result of a scrupulous wish to obey the State, and they asked for authorisation, not because they thought they needed it, or that they did not in fact possess it; it was the natural result of the exact advice given by M. Waldeck-Rousseau to the religious Congregations of Savoy, 28th June 1901. "I think," he said, "that it would be prudent for them, as indeed for all who are in any peculiar condition, to ask for the authorisation which will insure them against every kind of risk." May I take as an example the case of the Collège Anglais, at Douai, in the north of France. The English Benedictine monks had carried on an English college there, for more than three-quarters of a century. The property was British, and had been almost continuously in possession of the monks since the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution its property had been respected as that of English subjects, and even when in that terrible time French religious houses were dissolved and their goods confiscated it was spared until the outbreak of war between England and France, when it was seized, not because the monks were monks, but because they were English.¹ On the restoration of the property after the "Treaty of Paris," the recovered property was administered by a bureau in the capital, as British property; and the students were, since 1826, appointed to the various burses or scholarships established in the College with the full knowledge and approbation of the French Minister of the Interior. The existence of the College was thus constantly brought before the officers of the State and received their official sanction; and these constant dealings with them would, it might be supposed,

¹ See Appendix, p. 318.

have alone constituted an authorisation in itself. Moreover, not so many years ago it was necessary to obtain a lease of the buildings at Douai from the bureau for the purpose of carrying on the school, purchasing a playground and modernising the entire establishment. This lease was approved and signed by the President of the Republic, M. Carnot, and by the Ministers of Public Instruction and of the Interior. On the faith of this document, which they naturally supposed pledged the French Government and nation, they spent large sums of money—not less than twenty-five thousand pounds—on improvements of various kinds. As theirs was in some way considered a special position, it was thought prudent to take the advice of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and to apply for the “authorisation which would insure (them) against all risk.” Personally, I will confess it, I never imagined that this application was more than a mere matter of form, and that in due course they would receive the authorisation. The result was that their application was not even considered. They were executed with the rest *en bloc*, and the first intimation that they really received of their fate was the appearance of the liquidator at the English college gates, who proceeded at once to the seizure of their goods and chattels, though they were British subjects. To-day the actual state of the case is that in spite of the State lease, which has yet many years to run, their property has been sold, their improvements confiscated, and their movable goods put up to public auction. They themselves have not received one farthing of compensation, though every penny spent was really British money.

The whole process of the suppression of the religious Orders in France has been equally arbitrary and unjust,

for Douai is but a sample of an immense number of religious houses. M. Combes arranged things as he pleased by a *sic volo sic jubeo*. Just as it pleased him by a stroke of the pen to close four thousand free schools, so it pleased him, in assigning to the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies the demands for authorisation (which were to be divided between them), to hand six to the former, which would have regarded the applications from a more just standpoint, and fifty-four to the latter. The accompanying suggestion sent to the Chamber of Deputies, for the rejection of all of them "en bloc" was agreed to without difficulty or delay, and the "right of control of the Senate," which exists theoretically according to the Constitution of the Republic, was in this case, and by this Parliamentary *coup d'état*, ignored. The matter was made simplicity itself by the action of M. Rabier, the "reporter" of the measure before the Chamber of Deputies. "Of what use is it," he asked in substance, "to discuss the ends and objects of the Congregations who have asked for authorisation. We have no call to judge them as we do not mean to authorise them. Our intention is to condemn them and to refuse their application, and so to destroy them under the new law." Such was the view taken by M. Combes' majority; and thus all those who at M. Waldeck-Rousseau's invitation and on his explicit advice had presented themselves for "regularisation," found their petitions rudely dismissed without consideration. M. Waldeck-Rousseau, the originator of this law, has lately died, but not before he had uttered his protest in the Senate and elsewhere against the work of the Combes Ministry. In the Chamber and in the Senate in 1901 he defended his law on the sole ground that authorisation would be granted or refused

on the merits of each case, and he rejected indignantly an amendment which proposed the suppression of all existing non-authorised Congregations. In the Senate, in reply to a suggestion that there was a *parti pris*, that the whole matter had been arranged beforehand, and that by the brute force of a majority the Orders would be condemned, precisely because they were Orders, M. Waldeck-Rousseau exclaimed: "As to saying that Parliament will not grant authorisation, in my opinion this is to make short work of its functions. Can you believe that the French Chambers, in face of honest statutes showing openly a reasonable, philanthropic end, or one of social interest, will be animated by any absolute *parti pris* and will say: 'This is a Congregation, we refuse it authorisation.'"

M. Waldeck-Rousseau's speeches also, that were posted up in every commune of France, bear witness to his personal pledges in this matter, and to his reiterated promises in regard to authorisation. The electors of France, on the strength of his declarations, were assured again and again by candidates soliciting their votes, that the Government had no thought of suppressing the religious Congregations in France, and that it was in fact pledged to authorise those that would merely obey the new law and take the necessary steps to regulate their position. It is a complete misrepresentation to say, as so many journals have done, that M. Combes was returned to power with a large majority on purpose to decree the abolition of the religious orders, and that in refusing to grant the authorisation asked by them he was merely carrying out the mandate he had received from the country. This issue was never before the electorate at all; on the contrary, in every part of France the voters

had before their eyes, in the bills posted up by the authority of the Parliament, M. Waldeck-Rousseau's own distinct promises in regard to authorisation, and his indignant denials that any measure of suppression was intended; and if they could have had any doubts upon the matter at all, these were set at rest by the same pledges given by those who sought their suffrages.

In an eloquent passage of his pamphlet on the situation, M. le Comte de Mun describes the unfortunate result of this complete confidence in the justice and honest dealing of M. Waldeck-Rousseau and his successor, M. Combes. "The flood (let loose by the former) is passing on its way, sweeping all religious men and women before it along the obscure paths of proscription, confiscation and exile, in which those others, whom the first blast of the tempest had uprooted, had already preceded them. It is really a vast multitude of innocent victims that we see; a crowd of men of all ages guilty only of being faithful to the name they bear and to the religious habit that clothes them. They are there—fifteen or twenty thousand of them—men who up to the last moment were occupied only in serving their God, in praying to Him, in teaching His law, in educating the children of the people, in serving the sick and visiting the poor, or in spreading abroad in every land under the heavens the name of Jesus Christ and that of France."

Then come the nuns. Already the refusal of authorisation has come upon them as upon their brethren in religion. Thousands of poor unfortunate ladies have been turned adrift into the world, whose only fault is that they have associated together to serve God in prayer and by their good works. Thousands of them have grown old in the cloister, and they are thus unfitted to

begin life again in the world. Most of them are necessarily poor and quite unable to support themselves by their work in any new sphere, still less are they able to begin life afresh in any new country where they can enjoy that liberty to serve God which is now denied them in their own. What is before these ladies no man can tell, and already we hear of nuns whose only course has been to ask dispensation from their religious vows and to seek for the necessities of life by taking up the work of domestic servants, or of serving as shop-women behind the counters of Parisian millinery establishments.

Even when by the force of the law monasteries or convents have been closed, the Congregations dissolved and the inmates dismissed, the unfortunate religious has not unfrequently found himself still under the iron heel of the law. If he preach or lecture after his secularisation, which as a priest he has surely a right to do, he can be prosecuted as recalcitrant and punished. By M. Combes' circular of April 1903 the Bishops of France were directed not to allow ex-religious to use the pulpits of the churches in their respective dioceses, and their refusal to be bound by such an arbitrary exercise of authority has been in certain cases punished by the suspension of their very inadequate salaries. In one case with which I am acquainted, two secularised religious were received out of charity by the Superior of a diocesan college as assistant teachers. Immediately the college itself was closed by orders received from Paris. In another instance, two ladies of one family, after obtaining a dispensation from their vows, went home to their father's house. Here they incautiously kept up their pious practices and began to busy themselves in works of charity, and this becoming known, they received

a visit from a commissary of Police, who informed them that two ex-religious living together were regarded as forming a "Congregation," and that this was against the law.

Hundreds of other instances could be given of the harsh and deliberately cruel treatment which has been meted out to the members of the dissolved Congregations. Taking the figures given by M. Waldeck-Rousseau in the debates of 1901 as correct, there were some 75,000 religious to be dealt with in the category of non-authorised Congregations; and M. Combes is said to have received applications for authorisation for 12,800 houses. But matters have not stopped here. Religious life in France is now doomed to destruction. A new law absolutely forbids religious to exercise the profession of teaching for which previously they had been authorised. The Government does not consider previous authorisation by the State as anything more than an approval, accorded for a period. What the State has once approved and authorised, says M. Combes, it can at some future time, if it thinks proper, declare to be *non*-authorised. It *has* been thought proper; and the members of the authorised bodies, numbering some 55,000 religious, are now practically added to the list of the proscribed; and this means that their property will be seized by the State, and that they will be cast out into the world. The other day, the 1st of October, was the date when 750 schools taught by the Christian Brothers, 1,054 schools for girls taught by religious women, and nearly 600 orphanages where the waifs and strays of the country were supported by the Christian charity of the faithful and tended by the devoted care of the Sisters, were to be closed, and the remaining institutions, in number hardly

less than 2,000, are doomed to extinction at the will of the Government.

Nor, we may be sure, will this be the last act in the tragedy now being enacted before our eyes in France. Already it has been made clear, even to those who might have any doubt previously about M. Combes' object, that the suppression of the religious Orders is merely an incident in a general campaign against the Catholic Church. The two circulars addressed to the bishops of France in April 1903 directing them what preachers they were to employ in their pulpits, and ordering them to close all churches and places of pilgrimage which were not strictly parochial, are in themselves plain indications of the lengths to which M. Combes is prepared to go; the almost universal refusals of the bishops to obey these mandates is, however, proof that they understand the situation in the same way, and are ready to suffer any pains and penalties rather than be unfaithful to the duties of their sacred charge. What possible explanation, too, can be given of M. Combes' prohibition to the priests of Brittany and to those of the Basque provinces to give religious instruction to the children of their parishes in their native language, or to preach, save in the French tongue, except that he desired to put a stop to religious teaching of all kinds, seeing that multitudes of the parents and children in these districts only understand the Breton or the Basque language? The words of the Bishop of Orleans, addressed last year on 24th March to the religious of his diocese, represent no more than the truth. He advised them to remain at their posts and keep open their schools, their refuges for the sick and aged, their *crèches* for infants and their private hospitals, until they were turned out

by force. "Reverend Mother," he said, "the object of attack by the decrees against the Congregations is not you and your communities, but God Himself. It is impossible now to make a mistake on this point. It is against God and Christianity that all this persecution is directed. It is not because the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul wear a gray dress—it is not because Sacré Cœur nuns wear a black one, that they are being driven from the teaching profession. The reason, and the only reason, is that you all, Sisters and nuns alike, teach the Christian faith. God is the enemy. God is to be exiled from the soul of the young child. . . . It is not difficult to foresee what the future conduct of our present masters will be. Yesterday they drove out those religious Orders who did not ask for authorisation. To-day they are driving out those who did solicit it. To-morrow they will close all the teaching establishments which are at present authorised. The day after they will close the central houses, the *maisons mères*, whither they are now forcing you to go. The Congregations of France must understand that, so long as the present state of things continues in the political world, their case is prejudged and hopeless, and that they must endure much desolation and bitter trial."

Since the Bishop wrote those words events have justified his forecast. M. Combes is carried along on the flood he has let loose. There were, indeed, some indications that even he, like the real originator of the mischief, M. Waldeck-Rousseau, would have wished to pause in his career of destruction, and temporarily at least to close down the flood-gates. The very financial condition of the country should be sufficient to make him as a politician desirous not to add to its burdens. Having already

to face large annual deficits in the revenue of the country, it is hard to understand how any statesman can contemplate the additional expenditure necessitated by the suppression of schools, and hospitals, and asylums which the religious had supported. An immediate expenditure of over £1,000,000 for the building of schools; of more than £190,000 for fitting them up; and of something like half a million yearly for the payment of new teachers, is the official calculation of what M. Combes' policy in regard to schools is going to cost the nation. Then, it has been stated on authority that there are at least 250,000 old and infirm people, who have been hitherto supported by the charity, clothed by the charity, served by the charity, of the religious. These can hardly be left to starve on the roads and in the fields of fair France. What will they cost the nation annually? What is the least? Shall we say £10 a head? Even then we have a yearly expenditure of £2,500,000 and no provision made for sheltering them. Nothing less than madness—a senseless hatred of religion—could have initiated so suicidal a policy when it is obvious to the most superficial observer that the public revenue, in spite of the high rate of taxation, does not nearly suffice to meet the current and necessary expenditure. And yet this is only the beginning. Beyond the mere monetary question there is also the serious doubt raised by competent men as to the possibility of the Government being able to furnish proper teaching in secondary schools to replace the professors they have exiled. M. Brunetière in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* stated his belief that the persecuting policy of the Government will cost some millions of francs for secondary education. As for primary education, M. Combes'

law destroys some 1,650 schools, and the teaching brothers alone instructed some 300,000 children. M. Ferdinand Buisson, an authority well known and recognised in France, considers that a grave peril to the State has thus been created, by the necessary appointment of inexperienced, ill-educated, and untrained teachers to take the posts rendered vacant by the present policy of the Government.

But the grave injury inflicted upon the State by the laws against the Congregations is not our concern as foreigners. We are interested, of course, only or mainly in the religious side of the question, and the other matter is important only as showing how the Government, with full knowledge of the cost, determined to persevere in its work of destruction, and is thus revealing its animus and its real motives. It was obvious enough in the debates which accompanied the passing and the execution of the law. "Whether just or unjust, whether it will be costly and even ruinous to the nation," they appear to say, "we will have the law of suppression proclaimed by the 'bloc' which supports M. Combes." What is it that impels them? Can there be any doubt whatever? It is passion, and it is hatred; and hatred not merely of the religious life, but hatred of the Catholic religion, of Christianity; and even apparently hatred of God Himself. It is the spirit of M. Paul Bert—forgotten though he may now be, but triumphant and in activity.

It was, of course, impossible that matters could rest long where the dissolution of the religious Congregations had left it. Pope Leo XIII has seen in sorrow, but in silence, the action of the French Government in repressing the religious life in France. For fear of greater

evils which might have befallen the Church in that country, the Pontiff's voice had not been raised in protest. The dominant party in the State, however, were not content with their success in the campaign against religion, and clamoured for the abrogation of the *Concordat* between France and the Vatican, which for a century had regulated the relation of Church and State. M. de Pressensé, an eminent member of the Senate, even drafted a Bill for its abolition. What this would mean to religion in the country we are not called upon to discuss. I mention it merely to show that long before the late incidents which led to the withdrawal of the French Ambassador from the Vatican, the abolition of the *Concordat* was already being discussed in Paris as a measure of practical politics, and as an item in the programme of the Government. "A decent pretext," which I believe is the phrase used on such occasions, was all that was needed to precipitate the conflict. This was found, first in the protest made by Pius X against the visit of M. Loubet to Rome, which was seized upon by the irreligious section in Rome as a fitting opportunity to insult the Pope in his own city, and now, the other day, by the Pope's action in calling to Rome two of the French bishops to answer to certain charges which had been made against them as regards the administration of their spiritual functions.

The last offence of the Pope and his Secretary of State was loudly proclaimed as a manifest breach of the *Concordat*. The cry was taken up without consideration, and it is still repeated in the press of America, as well as in that of England and other European lands. In an interview with M. Combes, which one of the leading New York papers lately published, the *fact* that the Pope

had broken the *Concordat* is stated over and over again. Last week, in an article on *Church and State in France*, printed in the pages of a widely read journal, were statements about the Pope's "recent assumption of the right to revoke at will the French bishops, *regardless of the Concordat*." What are the real facts? It cannot be too widely known that there is nothing whatsoever in that famous treaty between Napoleon and Pius VII—called the *Concordat*—which prohibits the Pope from dealing directly with any individual bishop. It is surely a matter of common sense. How is it possible to conceive for one moment that any Pope could have surrendered the exercise of his spiritual functions in governing the Church in the way suggested by M. Combes? How could the supreme spiritual authority govern subjects who have taken an oath to obey him in all matters spiritual, if he had his hands fettered by such a compact with temporal authority, as the present French rulers would have the world believe? It is obvious that no Pope, even when constrained by overwhelming necessity, or to purchase any advantage whatever, could sign away so necessary a power in the administration of the Church of Christ. As a matter of fact, no such claim to fetter the papal authority over the French bishops was ever put forward by Napoleon or by his agents during the negotiations for the *Concordat*, nor was any such restriction introduced into the celebrated Convention agreed to between the Pope and the Emperor of the French.

It is indeed true that subsequently certain additions known as the *Articles Organiques* were made in France to the provisions of the *Concordat*. These may be taken to cover the point raised by M. Combes' Government; but these form no part of the *Concordat* itself. The

Popes from Pius VII to Pius X have never for a single moment accepted these *articles*, which were originally framed solely by the French authorities, without the knowledge or sanction of the Church, and were directed against the free action of her organisation. M. Emile Ollivier, in his *Manuel de droit Ecclésiastique*, says that no bishop, priest, or instructed Catholic layman ever attributed the least value to these *Articles Organiques*. They were mere State police acts, and at the time of their first issue Pius VII declared that these new provisions formed no part of his agreement with the French Government: that this argument was embodied in the provisions of the *Concordat* only, and that these appended Articles were altogether "unknown to him."

If as a fact, when no principle was involved directly, the ecclesiastical authority has bowed to necessity and carried out the spirit of the Organic Articles, it is because during the years of their existence they have been administered, on the whole, with moderation, and by statesmen who, even though not Catholics themselves, were gentlemen, and sincerely anxious for the welfare of the Church itself. But with a hostile—not to say irreligious—Government in power, and with officials whose policy is plainly, if not frankly, directed against the religion of the majority of Frenchmen, it has been long obvious that the rupture which has now taken place was inevitable. The Cardinal Secretary of State, in one of the letters on this matter published in the *Vatican White Book*, points out that the very acts now complained of by M. Combes as forming a breach of the *Concordat* by the present Pope, have previously been admitted without difficulty when it was to the interest of the secular power to assist the ecclesiastical authorities in the right govern-

ment of the Church in France. It is abundantly clear that, if the Popes seem hitherto tacitly to have acquiesced in the terms of the Organic Articles, at the same time they have never recognised them as binding. The *Concordat* alone have they admitted as a treaty, and its provisions alone they have regarded themselves as pledged to respect. This being so, it is entirely to misrepresent the true facts of the case to declare that by the acts of Pius X, or by those of his Secretary of State, either the letter or the spirit of the *Concordat* has been broken. M. Combes and his followers are so anxious to see the *Concordat* set aside, and yet so unwilling to appear as the culprits themselves, that they do not stop to inquire into the truth of their statements. They appear also to forget that by their whole policy against religion in France they appear, to outsiders, to have set aside the very first of the articles of the *Concordat* itself, which secures to all the full and free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion.

APPENDIX

THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINE PROPERTY IN
FRANCE

A STATEMENT OF FACTS

I.—BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

1. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century English Benedictine houses were established on the Continent at Douai, Dieulouard in Lorraine, St. Malo in Brittany, and at Paris. They were intended for the reception of English members of the Order, and to assist in educating youths whose parents were compelled, by the penal laws against Catholics then in force, to seek abroad for their children an education in accord with their religious principles, which could not be obtained in England.

2. These English Benedictine houses received the approval of the State authorities, and were in the beginning materially assisted by royal and other foreign benefactors. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries three of these establishments, those of Douai, Dieulouard and Paris, were developed and supported, and considerable buildings, etc., were erected, through the generous assistance of English Catholics, and by funds contributed to them by English members of the Order.

3. At the close of the eighteenth century these establishments were regarded in France as English—the creation of English enterprise and English capital. They were carried on by Englishmen, afforded education to English children, and were supported by English money. Neither the members nor superiors were ever bound by an oath or promise of allegiance to France, and the places were in fact isolated English establishments existing on French soil.

4. When the French religious establishments and colleges

were suppressed by the State in 1789, the English houses were suffered to remain, on the ground that they were foreign properties, and, as English establishments, they did not come under the law which declared all French ecclesiastical property to be national.

5. In 1791 the law regarding French religious establishments was applied to Douai, and the student-monks of the College of St. Vaast, which belonged to the Abbey at Arras, were sent away, whilst those of St. Gregory's, which adjoined the College of St. Vaast, who made use of the same church, were left undisturbed in their possessions as British subjects, by virtue of a law passed on 28th October and confirmed by the King on 7th November 1790.

6. The reasons given for exempting the English establishments from the operations of the law which destroyed the French houses are stated in the *Rapport* made by M. Chassey to the National Assembly on Thursday, 28th October 1790. In this *Rapport* the following points should be noted as showing how fully the Benedictine establishments, amongst others, were acknowledged as British.

(a) L'Institut de ces maisons ne permet d'y recevoir que des personnes de la même nation, et les maisons religieuses *sont comme celles séculières, destinées à l'éducation et à l'enseignement des enfans des Catholiques* des trois royaumes; séparément les Prêtres séculiers et réguliers y font, en outre, des missions continuelles.

(b) Des Religieux et Religieuses vinrent demander asile aux Rois qui gouvernoient ces deux pays; ils leur accordèrent protection et quelques légers secours momentanés; mais ces *maisons FIRENT TOUS LES FRAIS DE LEURS ÉTABLISSEMENS; avec l'argent qu'elles apportèrent elles ACHETÈRENT DES EMPLACEMENTS.* D'autres secours de leurs compatriotes les ont aidé à construire, et les rentes qui forment la majeure partie de leurs biens, ont été constituées de leurs *propres deniers*, ou de ceux des Catholiques anglais, qui les soutenoient dans la persécution qu'elles essuyoient.

(c) Les Bénédictins anglais sont créanciers de différentes maisons religieuses françaises, d'un capital exigible de 103,500 livres, produisant intérêt à 4 pour 100. . . . Ce revenu (*i.e.*, of all the English establishments) seroit insuffisant pour faire subsister tant de personnes, si elles n'avoient pour ressources les bienfaits qu'elles retirent de leur nation. Tous cependant demandent que l'Assemblée nationale les conserve, sans autre revenu que ceux qu'ils retirent des acquisitions ou des placements qu'ils ont faits *de leurs deniers ou de ceux de leurs compatriotes*.

(d) The two important questions proposed by M. Chassey to the Assembly were:

1°. Devez-vous conserver dans le sein de la France des Etablissemens étrangers?

2°. Devez-vous leur laisser DES BIENS QUI LEUR SONT PROPRES?

(e) His conclusions, in asking the Assembly to vote in the affirmative to both questions, are thus stated:

Tant de raisons vous décideront donc à conserver dans le sein de la France des Etablissemens qui n'ont pour objet que l'enseignement d'une portion des citoyens d'une nation étrangère, enseignement qui n'est point contraire à vos principes, et qui ne sauroit troubler votre tranquillité intérieure.

Mais laisserez-vous à ces Etablissemens les biens qu'ils possèdent?

Rien ne paroît s'opposer à ce qu'ils conservent ceux QU'ILS ONT ACQUIS DE LEURS DENIERS OU DE CEUX DE LEURS CON-CITOYENS. Il ne peut pas entrer dans vos principes de prohiber aux étrangers d'acquérir sous la domination française. On ne peut pas non plus présumer que vous les empêchiez de jouir.

7. On the presentation of this *Rapport* it was stated that the position as exposed by M. Chassey was so clear that little discussion was needed. One member, M. André, said:

"Le projet a été examiné avec soins dans les comités réunis; il nous a paru extrêmement simple. Il existe en

France des Etablissemens irlandais, écossais et anglais. Ils ont le double avantage d'amener en France des étrangers de ces trois nations, et d'attirer de temps en temps de nouvelles donations à ces Etablissemens. Rien de plus juste que ce que l'on propose: on reprendra LES BIENS FRANÇAIS, dont jouissent ces établissemens, en fournissant des pensions aux titulaires."

8. The *Décret* of the National Assembly adopting the *Rapport* declared in Art. IV: "Tous continueront de jouir des biens par eux acquis de leurs deniers, ou de ceux de leur nation, comme par le passé."

9. It should be noted that M. Chassey and the Assembly drew a careful distinction between what they allowed to be English property, and what they considered as French, and so subject to the same law of confiscation as had affected all the ecclesiastical property of the country. This appears in the following passage of the *Rapport*, amongst others:

"Les Bénédictins qui ont des bénéfices, ne demandent point à les conserver. Ils ont donné un état des biens qui y sont attachés, pour être vendus comme les autres biens nationaux."

Thus, the house of St. Edmund's, Paris, had been endowed at various times with fourteen benefices, in various parts of France, all of which were confiscated as French national property, whilst their own house in Paris and "le surplus de leurs biens," which is said to have been "en fonds de terre et en maisons," was left to them as British. In this and in other cases a careful distinction was made between the "biens de ces deux genres."

II.—DURING THE REVOLUTION.

1. When the National Convention on 8th March 1793 ordered the sale of the property and goods of collegiate and other places of public instruction in France, the English houses were exempted, specifically for the reason that they were *foreign* establishments.

ART. VI. Sont exceptés pareillement les biens de tout

genre formant la dotation de tous les ETABLISSEMENTS ÉTRANGERS mentionnés dans la loi du 7 novembre 1790, lesquels continueront provisoirement d'être régis par les administrateurs actuels desdits Etablissements, comme par le passé, jusqu'à ce que la Convention ait statué sur le rapport qui doit lui être fait à ce sujet par les comités d'instruction publique, des finances et d'aliénation en exécution de son décret du 14 février dernier.

(Addition by a Décret of 12th March 1793.)

En conséquence les administrateurs actuels DESDITS BIENS sont autorisés à recevoir les arrérages échus, et qui écherront jusque audit temps, des rentes de toute nature qui leur sont dues par la république, ainsi qu'ils les ont reçus par le passé.

Under the protection of this decree the English establishments continued until they were seized as English property in virtue of a special order.

2. The National Convention, on 10th October 1793, confiscated the property of all English establishments, the two countries being then at war with one another. This decree did not affect any French establishments, all of which had previously been dissolved and their property disposed of as national property. It dealt only with British establishments and British property in France, whether held for the purposes of commerce or education. The English Benedictine property, whether at Douai, or Paris, or elsewhere, in common with every other kind of British property, was thus confiscated by the National Convention, because it was British and held by British subjects in France.

3. Previous to the passing of this decree, on 18th February, the English houses at Douai had been visited by commissaries and seals had been placed on much of the property belonging to them. In August a siege of Douai appeared imminent and an order to expel all the English residents within twenty-four hours was given. A list was appended to this decree in which

appear the names of the English Benedictine monks resident at St. Gregory's.

4. On Saturday, 12th October 1793, an edict was published at Douai to carry out the Order of the National Convention, passed two days previously. By this it was decreed that (1) all subjects of the King of Great Britain were to be arrested, (2) all their property was to be sequestered, and (3) the English arrested should be treated with tenderness, a provision which was shortly afterwards cancelled.

5. Whilst the English Benedictines were in prison for some thirteen months at Doullens, much of their property at Douai and elsewhere was sold, or otherwise made away with. Their country house at Equerchin with the land attached had been disposed of, and their monastery and college wrecked, their library, furniture, paintings, etc., having been dispersed.

6. On being liberated from their captivity, they returned for a short time to their Douai house, and then found their way to England. In some places the decree for the sequestration of English property had been understood as equivalent to confiscation, and by its supposed authority the property continued to be sold as during the period of the incarceration at Doullens. In other places, as at Paris and Dieulouard, the Benedictine property was merely sequestered, and not sold, although most of the movables disappeared during the troubles of 1795 and the subsequent years.

7. On the return of the French nation to a saner frame of mind at the advent of Napoleon this property was recognised as British. After the Peace of Amiens, in 1802, negotiations were commenced for the restoration of all sequestered property to the owners, but they were ended by the renewal of hostilities.

8. Attention, however, had been called to the matter, and Napoleon, by decrees of 22nd June 1803, 18th May 1805, and 25th June 1806, ordered that all unsold and recoverable British property should be gathered together under one administration, to be known as the *Bureau Gratuit*.

9. During a period of ten years, till 1816, the general administrator of these properties received the rents and revenues and applied them by arrangement with the French Government, to the support of students in the Irish college at Paris.

10. Meanwhile a distinction had been drawn between what was undoubtedly British property and what was held to be French, though it had previously been used and enjoyed by British subjects. By a *décret* of 3rd June 1804, and another "*du Conseil d'état approuvé le 27 Novembre, 1807,*" the old church and monastery of the English Benedictines, at Douai, or at least the buildings they had occupied for nearly two hundred years, were declared to be French property, as having belonged to the suppressed abbey of St. Vaast at Arras. At the same time the English Benedictine claim to the college part, etc., was practically admitted. The distinction here made between parts of the old property held by the English monks emphasises the fact that the latter portion was indubitably British.

11. Although the English continued to work for the restoration of the old church at Douai, from the first their claim was resisted by the authorities, who claimed it as national property. A letter from Douai, 8th September 1802, makes it certain that any restoration of either church or monastery was never contemplated. At the same time, however, the English claim to the college part—the "new building," as it was called—which had been entirely raised by English enterprise and by English money, was conceded without difficulty.

12. The Treaty of Paris, 30th May 1814 (additional Article IV), secured the restoration of all unsold sequestered property to British subjects. It was as follows:

"ART. IV *du Traité de paix du 30 mai 1814.*

"Il sera accordé de part et d'autre, aussitôt après la ratification du présent traité de paix, main-levée du séquestre qui auroit été mis, depuis l'an 1792, sur les fonds, revenus,

créances, et autres effets quelconques des hautes parties contractantes ou de leurs sujets.

“ ‘Les mêmes commissaires dont il est fait mention à l’art. 2, s’occuperont de l’examen et de la liquidation des réclamations des sujets britanniques envers le Gouvernement français pour la valeur des biens, meubles ou immeubles induement confisqués par les autorités françaises, ainsi que pour la perte totale ou partielle de leurs créances, ou autres propriétés induement retenues sous le séquestre depuis l’an 1792.

III.—AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

1. Acting upon the above Article of the Treaty of Paris the English bishops put in their claims to obtain possession of the unsold properties of Douai and St. Omer’s, and restoration of any confiscated goods and revenues which had not come into the hands of the general administrator of the *Bureau Gratuit*.

2. At the same time the superiors of the other English establishments, many of whom were in Paris for this purpose, claimed under the same article of peace to have their property restored to them, and to be put in possession of their houses and goods, as they were in 1802, or to be fully indemnified for destruction or deterioration of buildings, and for loss of movables or revenues.

3. On 25th January 1816 an *Ordonnance du Roi* granted the petition of the English bishops, in so far as they claimed the management of the property of the secular colleges of Douai and St. Omer’s which still existed. These properties they restored to them as personal owners, in spite of the old decrees, which ordered all remaining property of religious houses and colleges to be administered by the Bureau created for the purpose.

4. In regard to their claims for compensation for property which had been sold or dispersed, the King referred the Catholic claimants to the Commission which had been appointed

to consider such demands for compensation of British subjects. And in granting the *Ordonnance*, which gave them the administration of the still existing property, the King adds: "*Le tout néanmoins sans préjudice de l'article additional du Traité de Paris, du 30 mai 1814 et des Articles 1er v de la Convention de Paris, du 20 novembre, 1815.*"

5. In this decree the English Benedictine property was not specifically named; but a supplementary *Ordonnance du Roi* was obtained on 7th September 1816. By virtue of this decree, in which Fr. Lawson and Fr. Marsh were named as owners, the Benedictines took over the administration of their property in Douai and Paris from the above-named Bureau. On 11th October 1817 Fr. Marsh claimed in virtue of the treaty concluded between France and England to regain No. 269, Rue S. Jacques, which formed part of the Paris house.

6. Great efforts were made on the part of the late administrators to have the general administration of the property revived. The ground of the economy of one administration was urged with success, and the King was induced to revive the *Bureau Gratuit* by two *Ordonnances du Roi* of 17th September 1817, and 29th December 1818.

7. By these *Ordonnances* it was directed that although all the revenues were to be administered by one person and office, a strict account was to be kept of the purposes for which they were intended. The burses were to be expended in any place of public instruction approved by the state, "*lorsque l'accroissement des revenus en offrira les moyens sur la reunion des boursiers dans une des maisons existantes.*"

8. The property thus administered is declared to be British: "*L'Administration des Etablissemens britanniques est confiée, sous la surveillance et l'autorité de notre ministre secrétaire d'Etat de l'Intérieur, au Bureau Gratuit.*"

9. The administrator was charged by this decree to receive the nominations to burses made by the English bishops and others who had the right to present, and to submit them for approval to the Minister of the Interior.

10. Finally by an *Ordonnance du Roi*, of 2nd February 1826, the *Bureau Gratuit* was superseded by the present general administration of the "*Fondations Anglaises établies en France pour l'instruction de jeunes Catholiques d'Angleterre.*" The administration was still to be directed by the Minister of the Interior and the administrator was, "autant que possible," to be an English Catholic priest and a born British subject. It was admitted that the property administered was that of regulars as well as that of seculars in the words, "aura pour l'administration des biens tant séculiers *que réguliers.*" The revenue was to be disbursed "pour la service desdites fondations," and the accounts submitted yearly to the Minister of the Interior, who also had to approve the names of those nominated to burses, as in the *Ordonnance du Roi* of 17th September 1818.

11. For more than three-quarters of a century the British property saved from the wreck at the French Revolution has been administered by the *Bureau des Fondations Anglaises*. The revenue disbursed is derived from the rents of properties still existing, like the houses in the Rue S. Jacques at Paris, formerly St. Edmund's, and the college at Douai, or from funds derived from the sale of English properties, such as the lands and woods at Dieulouard and the old English secular colleges at Douai and St. Omer's. In accordance with the direction given in the *Ordonnance du Roi* last cited, the administrator had had under his charge "des biens tant séculiers *que réguliers*" and the funds and accounts have been kept separate.

12. During all that period the Collège Anglais at Douai has been regarded by the authorities as the place, contemplated in the previous *Ordonnances* of 1817 and 1818, where it was possible to have "la réunion des boursiers dans une des maisons existantes." From 1826 till the present day the names of the students holding the burses, whether secular or Benedictine, have been regularly submitted for approval to the Minister responsible, and it has been by his authority that they

have been educated at the Collège Anglais, Douai, as at an approved college.

13. Acting on the faith of this full knowledge of the authority of the State, the English Benedictines have spent large sums of English money, and still larger sums have been spent by English benefactors, in establishing and improving their college. Necessary additions to the original buildings have been made from time to time during the past three-quarters of a century, and the entire college has been furnished and much modernised in the last few years. The whole has been done for what is acknowledged as British property by British money, not one penny of which would have been expended if it had not been supposed that it was at least as safe as capital expended on any other English business in France.

IV.—THE PRIVY COUNCIL DECISION OF 1825

1. The fact that the decision of the Privy Council of 1825 has been adduced by the present French authorities as a proof that we cannot claim for our property the protection of the English Government makes it necessary to point out what this decision really is.

2. In common with the other English colleges, etc., in France, the Benedictine houses admittedly suffered great losses of real estate and funded property, as well as of movables, in the troubles of the French Revolution.

3. The representatives of all these establishments, secular as well as regular, put in their claims to be compensated for these losses out of the large sum of money placed in the hands of the British Government for the satisfaction of all English claimants whose property had been destroyed or otherwise confiscated in the Revolution.

4. That the French Government intended that these Catholic claims should be met out of the money placed in the hands of the Commissioners seems certain by the declaration of the King already referred to above (III, 4). He there says that the

restoration of the other property, which could be handed back to the representatives of the English colleges, was not to prejudice their claims to compensation under the Treaty for losses sustained. Moreover, on 5th April 1816, the French Minister of Finance directly urged Bishop Poynter to apply to the Commissioners.

5. The Commissioners appointed by the English Government to adjudicate upon the English claims, after considerable delay, held that the claims of the English Catholic colleges could not be considered as coming within the terms of their Commission. The grounds of this decision were that such establishments were unknown to the English law; they had been carried on without the sanction of the British Government, and the purposes for which the funds claimed were used were to be held "superstitious" in law. The claimants, therefore, could not be allowed to share in the distribution of funds intended for the compensation of English interests.

6. On appeal against the decision, the Privy Council upheld this technical objection. Lord Gifford delivered the judgment on 25th November 1825, and assigned the following as amongst the reasons why compensation was denied to the English Catholic establishments in France for injury and loss of property, which they had admittedly suffered, and to meet which indemnity the English Commissioners had received money from the French nation. "Although the members (of the Catholic establishments) were British subjects," says Lord Gifford, ". . . the end and object were not authorised, but were directly opposed to British law, and the funds dedicated to their maintenance were employed for that purpose in France, because they could not be so employed in England. . . . We think, therefore, that they must be deemed French establishments."

7. It is obvious that the Catholic Emancipation Acts removed the illegality of the position of our Catholic colleges, and that the ground of the decision of 1825 no longer holds good.

8. It is also obvious that the Privy Council decision was merely concerned with a claim of the Catholic establishments to share in the compensation given for injury done to other English interests during the Revolution. It was not in any way concerned with, nor did it consider the status of the other property held by those establishments abroad. Still less had it any reference to the existing college at Douai, or to the revenues derived from what is acknowledged by the French Government to be the British property, administered in the Bureau of the *Fondations Anglaises*.

EDITING AND REVIEWING¹

THE Boer war has been in many ways a rude awakening. It has taught us—at least such of us as are not wilfully dense—that it is not the red coat and gold lace which make the soldier, nor the red tape of officialdom that is any reliable guarantee of safety when the day of trial comes. Time may be left to apportion the blame for the state of things which the test of real warfare has revealed to the world: at present, however, we can quite recognise that “the system” has failed us in spite of the enthusiasm of the entire Empire, the higher qualities of individual commanders, the bravery of the army at large, and the personal heroism of so many officers and men. When we again experience the peace which will follow upon the ultimate triumph of our arms, no doubt the country will insist upon the War Office authorities setting its house in order, and upon reforms long recognised by competent critics as imperatively necessary being forthwith taken in hand. If this be done, the lessons of the war, expensive and terrible as they have been, will not have been wholly useless.

Meantime, many are asking themselves whether the warning may not be usefully taken to heart in wider circles, and whether the failure of one great department of State under the stress of trial does not in reality point

¹ An article printed in *The Dublin Review*, April 1902.

to the working of causes which surely, though in a less important degree perhaps, affect detrimentally the whole life and work of the English nation.

It has frequently been remarked that as a people we are far too easily pleased with ourselves, that we like to estimate ourselves at our own value, and neither care to have our labours and methods contrasted with those of other civilised nations, nor are able to conceal our resentment when this is done for us, or we are invited to do it for ourselves. Such an attitude of mind—insular, shall we call it?—is most harmful. It is obviously fatal to the production of the best kind of work, and it permits us to remain satisfied with an inferior article until some chance awakens us to the unpleasant reality, and we too late become conscious that what has contented us by its outside showy appearance will not stand the test of examination and analysis. Unfortunately, it must be confessed that in many branches of work and methods of work, we English are not as “thorough” as we should like to think ourselves, and as we must be if we would command ultimate success, or rather avoid ultimate failure. The “good enough” policy may perhaps impose upon the world for a time, but the day must come when it will be found out and exposed as a fraud and a sham. It is no doubt humiliating enough to have to confess our own weaknesses and failings, but it is the wiser course when there is yet time to learn and time to change. With all the shrewd practical common sense upon which we so much pride ourselves, it must honestly be allowed that we are frequently as ready to accept veneer for solid mahogany, and shoddy for good broadcloth, as the *Vicar of Wakefield's* Moses was to invest in the pinch-beck spectacles because they looked like gold.

In energy and earnestness of purpose, too, it can hardly be denied that we English have, of late, lagged behind many of our Continental neighbours. We have but to contrast, for example, what English youths are wont to do to prepare themselves for the keen business rivalry of modern times with what is done, say, by Germans in similar positions, to see how very far we are from practically possessing—as they do—this one element of certain success—"the infinite capacity of taking pains." Germans, Swiss, French, and even Italians, for instance, think nothing of leaving their own countries for a period and supporting themselves by acting as waiters in foreign hotels in order to fit themselves for future commercial employments by acquiring other languages besides their own. It is almost a thing unheard of for an Englishman to be found in similar circumstances. Not, be it remarked, that such a course is to be necessarily recommended in all cases, but it is certainly evidence of a spirit of determination to succeed, which foreign nations possess in a higher degree than ourselves.

What is true of commercial pursuits is equally true in regard to other things. Germany has set us all an example in "thoroughness," which other nations have been quicker to appreciate and copy than we have in this country. It was an unpleasant revelation to the French military authorities during the Franco-Prussian war to find that the German officers had better maps and possessed a more minute and exact knowledge of French territory than they themselves had. The fact is, that the Prussians had taken every means to prepare themselves for the eventuality of an invasion of French territory. We hear of officers who had been acting as waiters in

Strasburg, Metz, and other places; and others who had walked disguised as pedlars through the Vosges and the hilly country of the Seine and Oise, minutely prospecting the land; and of a German colonel who had traded as a horse-dealer as far from the frontier as Tarbes. One curious fact is vouched for by a friend as actually having happened to a relation of his living at Auteuil. Before the war, the family had been served by a butcher who employed a well-spoken and civil young German to carry the meat to his customers. When Auteuil was taken possession of by the invading forces, the lady of the family had occasion to go to the market held under the surveillance of the German troops occupying the place. Her surprise may be imagined when a young Prussian officer came forward, and offering politely to help her, asked whether she did not recognise him as her former butcher boy. Such facts help to show how the German military authorities spared no pains to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the country they subsequently occupied, and the complete success of their arms was undoubtedly due to their previous unwearied preparation. At the present day there is no doubt in the minds of those who know, that the German officer has a fuller and more minute topographical knowledge of England than our own officials possess—not of Germany—but of our own island.

It has been the fashion amongst us to laugh at and despise this German "thoroughness"; but the notable deficiency in this quality among Englishmen at the present day means that our work is seldom more than "second best," and in the case of matters of serious import this must inevitably end in some such awakening as we have lately experienced in regard to our military

system. In no department of work is there perhaps greater evidence of our present national tendency to be content with mediocre performance, to accept on the estimate of the giver what is offered us without any real inquiry, and to shut our eyes wilfully to defects and blemishes so long as the general appearances of the work are respectable, than in regard to the more serious side of literature—if at the present day it can be said to have a serious side at all. Here, too, it must be admitted that the Germans set us an example from which we might with advantage learn something. Those who have had occasion to labour in any of the great libraries of Europe will readily admit that not only is the number of German students greatly in excess of those from other nations, but that their method of work and their perseverance at long sustained labour excel that of others. Laugh at them and dislike them as we may, those who have had an opportunity of judging must admit this much. We may, if we please, consider their care and their criticism needlessly minute and worrying; but, at any rate, along with rapidity of execution their conclusions are generally reliable and satisfactory, whilst their work is directed and arranged and the results of their investigations are controlled and checked by other scholars on a system which experience has shown to be best calculated to secure accuracy. There may be indications that of late even the work of German scholars has slightly deteriorated; but, be this as it may, they are still able to set us an example which we might do well to imitate, as French students have done since the war of 1870. No doubt the number of German students and the excellence of their methods are largely due to the State assistance in training and assisting research, both at home and abroad, so liberally

afforded by the German Government; but much is also due to private enterprise, and in the result the wonderful accuracy of German scholarship is mainly the outcome of the individual determination to spare no pains, and to account no trouble too great to obtain a satisfactory result, and, what is much to the purpose, never to undertake anything for which by previous study the student has not adequately prepared himself.

Whatever view we may be inclined to take of what has been called "German methods," we must recognise that at least it is better than much of the "slipshod" work which too frequently of late has been allowed to do duty for scholarship in England. Editions of texts and manuscripts are often now undertaken by those who obviously are quite incompetent, and whose work speaks for itself, and proves that they neither have had the training nor possess the knowledge requisite for the task entrusted to them. There are exceptions, of course, and even numerous exceptions, but the fact remains that many serious works have of late come from the English press and have been welcomed as worthy productions by some of our critical authorities, which in reality are so disfigured by gross blunders as to excuse, if they do not altogether justify, the very general depreciation on the Continent of our national scholarship. In some measure, at least, the reviewer of such works is answerable for the state of things. If he always did his plain duty to the author and the public and critically examined the volumes sent to him, and bestowed his praise or blame on their ascertained merits or demerits, and not on the ground of a good general appearance, a glance at the table of contents, or even upon some preconceived notion of the subject matter, editors would hesitate to

expose themselves to censure by undertaking work which would but display to the world their ignorance and incompetence. With the exception of the great literary papers, such for example as the *Athenæum*, the *Guardian*, and others, there does not now appear to be much care bestowed upon reviewing serious works of this kind, especially editions of texts in Latin or languages other than English, by the press at large. The general public at the present day is ordinarily credited with caring little for "heavy" literature, and still less with desiring to read any reviewer's estimate of a book of this class. The natural consequence is that works of this description are not unfrequently placed in the hands of the class of reviewer whose only consideration, apparently, is how to gain his honorarium with the least possible expenditure of trouble. "Put into the first few pages of your introduction what you want a reviewer to notice," is a common piece of advice to an author; and the "reviewer's copy" of such heavy works, nearly new and with at most the pages of the preface cut, has long been a feature on our London bookstalls. If report speaks truly, publishers are at the present moment considering whether it does much good to send such serious works for review to any but strictly literary journals. I am, of course, concerned here only with the class of book such as, say, the edition of a text or manuscript. Popular literature, as volumes of travels, biographies, novels, and such like, appear on the whole to receive fair and just treatment at the hand of the press reviewers.

It is clear upon the face of it that the present system of criticism adopted in the case of serious works cannot be right. A reviewer, often without even taking the trouble to go over the ground covered by the work he

has in hand, unhesitatingly gives his oracular opinion on the subject. What is such an opinion worth? His verdict may indeed be justified: of course, there is that possibility according to the ordinary laws of chance. But it may with equal probability be wrong, and in that case he is unjust both to the author and to the general public. This rough and ready criticism of such works is, after all, only another symptom of that general disease which at the present day is sapping our strength and destroying the possibility of good work in England—"want of thoroughness." But it is something more. On several occasions after reading a review I have been induced to buy a work which has proved on examination to be utterly worthless. This was not because of anything which could be a mere matter of opinion upon which the reviewer's verdict might have been as good as my own; but because the book was not what it claimed to be. There are, of course, books and books. The value or merit of some may be a matter of opinion or taste; but in regard to the class of literature I am here considering, such as the publication or edition of a text, opinion does not enter into the matter: a candid and thorough examination will settle whether it be good or bad. To take some examples: on the appearance of the Clarendon Press edition of Roger Bacon's *Opus Majus*, the *Times* and many other papers gave lengthy and very laudatory reviews of the work. The *Times*' notice, which declared that the editing of the book was in every way excellent, probably induced others besides myself to invest a good number of shillings in these two volumes. Had the reviewer taken the trouble to look at the text he was praising, he could not have written what he did. It surely can hardly be questioned that the first duty of

a competent editor is to present as accurate a print of his author's text as it is possible to procure, and to esteem no trouble or pains too much to secure this end. Yet the editor of these two handsome volumes has on the face of it neglected this plain and primary duty, and this in such a way that the margins of his pages are literally too small to contain the necessary verbal and grammatical corrections. In many instances whole passages are left out altogether, and in the case of some pages more of the true text is omitted than has been printed. There are numerous examples also in which, by the publication of this edition, Bacon's memory has been unconsciously defamed by representing his grammar as hopelessly defective, by making him say directly the reverse of what he did say, and by crediting him with seriously putting forth arguments obviously inconclusive. The other usual editorial functions are throughout exercised in a similarly unsatisfactory way. To any who will take the trouble to examine this book, it will certainly appear inexplicable how the editor could ever have undertaken to edit a work for which on almost every page he has unmistakably shown that he was incompetent. It is not for me to say how the Clarendon Press authorities could have given this worthless edition the distinguished patronage of the high name of the University of Oxford, or how the reviewers who wrote the laudatory notices of it in the *Times* and other high-class journals could have considered that they were doing their duty to their readers. Probably, after all, the explanation is very simple, and is nothing more than this: it was an acute attack of the disease "want of thoroughness" which affected all concerned. The editor did not think it required special training to acquit him-

self sufficiently well as an editor, and that any print of a mass of Latin was "good enough"; the Clarendon Press took the editor on his own estimate of himself, and the reviewers, looking at the two handsome volumes, and taking the Clarendon Press as an ample guarantee for efficiency, never troubled to examine the book at all critically.

To take another case. Not very long ago the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, published in two large and well-printed volumes *The Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*. How many people, I wonder, tried to translate some of the Latin printed in this important work? It has been, I may remark in passing, much praised by papers which have noticed it. The editor has been very liberal with his punctuation, and no doubt one of the chief functions of an editor is, of course, in this way to assist his readers to understand the text. But the punctuation adopted throughout, say volume II, is ludicrous, and would absolutely confuse any one who tried to follow the sense with the help of the editor's commas and stops generally. In fact it is quite clear that in this edition we are supposed to regard the printed text as so many "lumps of Latin," which are to be looked at but not translated. One wonders as one turns over the pages whether the editor himself ever tried to make sense out of his own text. A suspicion that he did not attempt to do so is borne out by the way some sentences are cut up into two or three parts by full stops, and others are united together in meaningless confusion. I say nothing of the obviously false readings. This bulky book also makes one rub one's eyes and wonder where are the authorities of the University Press at Cambridge, when they, too, can stand sponsors for a book which certainly does not reflect credit upon English scholarship.

To take one more instance: a couple of years ago the Hampshire Record Society issued the second volume of Bishop William of Wykeham's Register. This book was edited by a member of Winchester College. The second volume is a handsome and well-printed book of over 600 pages of text, mostly in Latin, and the editor, on concluding his work, excuses himself for three mistakes, which he asks the readers to correct. This great and praiseworthy apparent accuracy led me to hope that the editor, having before him the admirable example of Mr. Baigent's edition of the Registers of Bishops Sandale and Asserio, published by the same Society, not to name the monumental edition of the Exeter Registers by Prebendary Hingeston Randolph, had added another scholarly volume to the Hampshire Record Series. My hopes were further raised by such notices of the book as I saw. The reviewer in *The Guardian* (3rd August 1899) spoke in terms of the highest praise of the edition. "The book before us comes very opportunely to speak in favour of the great bishop," the writer said. "We cannot speak too highly of the way the Register has been edited. It is worthy of its predecessor." This last opinion I afterwards found to be true; but hardly in the sense perhaps the reviewer intended. Again: "The Hampshire Record Society is doing good work for the English Church by issuing these careful and accurate editions of the Registers of the Bishops of Winchester."

My expectations were, I regret to say, doomed to disappointment. An examination of the first few pages was sufficient to convince me that "careful and accurate" were hardly words which, by any stretch of politeness, could be honestly made to apply to this work. I was hardly, however, prepared for what afterwards became

evident: and when I had gone carefully through the entire volume, pencil in hand, such were my feelings that I could only exclaim with Dominie Sampson, "Prodigious!" The mistakes in the Latin are truly wonderful! They are there literally by the hundreds, sometimes five or six and even more are to be found on a single page. Most of them are so obvious than any one with an ordinary elementary knowledge of the Latin language ought to have detected them; all the more so, because the sentences as they are printed are frequently untranslatable, and this alone should have told the editor that something was wrong. One can only suppose that he did not attempt to construe his own Latin, and probably it did not occur to him to suppose that any one would ever try to comprehend what this mediaeval jargon meant. It is quite impossible to understand what can have prompted any one to undertake a work for which he had evidently never qualified himself by a study of manuscripts or, for that matter, by any extensive knowledge of the laws of ordinary grammatical construction. It has been urged in mitigation of such shortcomings that it is unfair to judge an amateur's work as strictly as that of a professional; but surely in the matter of editing this should be no excuse, and it is really time to protest against the spirit which is everywhere tempting men whose ambitions are greater than their qualifications to undertake editorial work with, of course, disastrous results, so far as our English reputation for scholarship is concerned. It is surely far better that our priceless records should not be edited at all, than that they should be edited once for all (for so it must be of necessity) in an unsatisfactory and untrustworthy manner.

Although it is impossible, within any reasonable com-

pass, to give an adequate idea of the state of the text of Wykeham's Register, as published by the Hampshire Record Society, some examples will help the reader to form his own conclusion. It would be difficult to find in the episcopal registers of the mediaeval sees a more ordinary and common expression than "the sentence of excommunication"—in Latin, "sententia excommunicationis." Of course, as a general rule, the words are contracted, having the usual and easily recognised signs of contraction which no competent editor could possibly mistake. Will it be believed that in this edition, in all but one or two cases (where, I suspect, the original had the word written out in full), we find the word "summa" in place of "sententia"? How the editor managed to make sense in the scores of places in which he has printed the wrong word, is not for me to suggest: probably he wisely did not try. The same may be said of other words which are persistently wrong throughout the volume. For example: "preter" (unless) is always printed in place of "pariter" (in like manner), and "proinde" (hence) for "provide" (prudently). Even the proper Latin form for the diocese of Winchester is commonly printed wrongly in the Latin, such expressions as "Wyntoniensi diocese" being made to do duty for "Wyntoniensis diocesis," as it does thrice on page 56. On one page "mons" (a mountain) is made to do duty for "mens" (a mind) three several times, and one of these instances is made all the more puzzling to the reader by the adjective which is joined to it; for "mons," as every one knows, is masculine, and "monte pia" should surely have set the editor thinking. In some cases words are run together, or changed in the most curious, and at times bewildering, fashion: thus, on

page 54, Wykeham speaks of a chantry "pie fundatum" (piously founded)—our editor reads the word "prefundatum," that is "founded previously," as I suppose he would understand the word to mean. So, on page 379, the ordinary legal phrase "in de et super" becomes "inde et super"; on page 377, for "in habendo," which is, of course, nonsense, we must read "inhibendo." The phrase "cujuscumque religionis vel ordinis eciam *Meditantium*," suggests that our editor was thinking of "contemplative Orders." The real reading is, of course, "Mendicantium" (mendicants). So, too, when on page 345, "iterum" (again) is made to do duty for "iter suum" (his journey), it obviously detracts from the meaning of the document printed. So, too, when on page 436 the words of a bequest in an interesting will are given as "unum par pectinum," which the editor translates for us as "a pair of combs," the sense is rather changed, since the real reading should be "unum par precum," *i.e.*, "a pair of beads," or a rosary. It is quite obvious in this case also that the editor must have thought only of producing so many printed pages, and did not stop to see what his Latin really meant. Without the manuscript—with which it has not been possible to confront the present version—the text as printed is quite unintelligible in many places, and if it did not puzzle the editor, it ought to have done so. In others, it is possible, of course, to guess, by the application of a little common sense, what the Latin should be. In several places, for instance, "non parentes mandatis" (not obeying our commands) becomes in the print "non penitentes mandatis," the translation of which phrase is quite beyond me. On the same page (369) on which one of these mistakes may be seen, occur the words "sueque gregis prestat auxilium"

in place of "suoque gregi," etc. This little change of a dative into a genitive by our editor makes the bishop pray that "God would deliver the English people and afford them the help of his flock," in place, of course, of "afford help *to* his flock."

But if the above and countless other mistakes were apparent without reference to the original manuscript, it was to be expected that when compared with it numberless examples of wrong readings would be detected. This proved to be the case when I was able to collate the first sixteen pages of print with the Register itself. No wonder that the Latin is hard to construe when words are left out altogether, or changed beyond the wit of man to guess at their original form. Thus, on page 5, in a sentence the construction of which had puzzled me, the word "intravisset" is in the MS. "intravit"; "habuerit" is "habuit," and the words "dicitur" and "objecturi" have been dropped out altogether. What can a poor reader make of the sense when, as on page 7, the word "habendam" should be "honestorum," "ducendum" should be "integrandum," and "requisita" stands for "requiruntur"? But perhaps the most curious of this class of mistakes in the first sixteen pages are to be found on pages 12 and 13: "negotia," for example, is made to do duty for "jugiter"; "vel" for "veri"; "accipere" for "recipere"; "peccatorum" for "peccaminum"; "inhibicio" for "mulieribus"; and "nostre diocesis" for "jure diocesano."

The above are, as I have said, mere samples of what may be found on every page, and the whole volume would be absolutely comical were it not for the serious state of mind it reveals, both on the side of the editor, the reviewer, and the public, who continue to put up

with this "anything-good-enough" kind of work. The book as an edition is worse than useless, and it is a standing reproach to the excellent Society that has distributed it to its members. The only amends that body can make to the memory of the illustrious Bishop William of Wykeham is to recall the volumes and republish them under a competent editor. And yet be it remembered that this is a work which the *Guardian* asks its readers to accept as "a careful and accurate edition."

I am tempted to add one instance of the "learned notes" which have been given by the editor to assist his readers. On page 456 the following entry is recorded: "License granted to William, Lord de Roos, and Margaret, daughter of Eleanor, wife of Sir Reginald de Cobham, to marry at the Castle of Cherbourg." To this we have appended a note: "'Castrum de Sceresburg nostre diocesis.' It had been placed in the keeping of the English in 1378 (*Walsingham*, i, 271 [should be 371]), and although they made it over to the King of Navarre in 1393, it seems to have continued under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See of Winchester." The place in question is not Cherbourg at all, but the well-known home of the Cobhams, Stersborough Castle, in the parish of Lingfield, in Surrey.

This reminds me of another mistake made by the same gentleman who has edited (?) Wykeham's Register, in another volume—the *Annals of Winchester College*, published in 1892, "under the sanction of the warden and fellows." On page 187 we read the following: "The names of the guests at breakfast at the high table (at the college) on June 4 1420, are mentioned below. *One of them was the wife of a parish clergyman* [italics are mine], who would scarcely have been of the party,

although her husband was an Uvedale, if the wives of parish clergymen had not been generally received in society at this period:—In jantaclo fact. Joh. Uvedale, Vicario de Hampton, uxori ejusdem, etc.” A truly remarkable entry indeed! and as the editor did not extend the Latin of two previous words, there seemed little reason to suppose that “Vicario” was not written out in full. The entry is made no clearer by his note, “Hampton-on-the-Thames, then in the gift of the college.” Was he (*i.e.*, the Vicar John Uvedale) the father of the two Uvedale boys who were in-commoners in 1424?

Here, then, we have a pretty story: a married priest, who was vicar of a college living, is entertained at breakfast together with his wife, at the bishop’s college, by the master, and at the same time two boys of the same name were in the school, and it is suggested, and with every probability, that they are his sons. It never seems to have crossed the writer’s mind that something was wrong. A Catholic would no doubt have suspected a “mare’s nest” if for no other reason than from the use of the word “uxor.” It is, of course, a mere detail that there was no vicarage of Hampton-on-the-Thames, and that it consequently could not have been in the gift of the college. The point lies in the word *Vicarius*, who is said to have had a wife, and that these were both received in good and clerical society. Unfortunately, however, for this good story, the word *Vicarius*, in the original, is *Vicecomes*, or Sheriff, and it is the Sheriff of Hampshire who was at the college with his wife, and whose sons were commoners there in 1424!

If any would desire to see another good example of the style of work which has done so much to discredit English scholarship, let him take up the volume of the

Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society for 1900, and try to construe some of the astounding Latin documents that are printed there in all seriousness. There are papal Bulls that would defy the most expert Latinist to put into English. What, for example, on p. 204, can "prunenda vocabulis Locum ipsum" mean? Also on the same page we have the Pope speaking of an English king as "Ex favore Azini in Xto filii nostri Henrici." Did the editor suppose that the translation is "that fool of a son"? Of course, "Azini" must have been "Carissimi" in the original. And of this sort of hopeless stuff there are pages upon pages. Again, the only thing to say is, with the Dominie, "Prodigious!" and yet at the conclusion we are told: "The proof sheets as printed in the *Transactions* were seen through the press by at least three different hands [*sic*]; but for want of proper record type the abbreviations could not be correctly expressed, and commas were used throughout instead. It would have been far better to have extended the various Latin documents, but the labour thus entailed would have been immense, and the length at least doubled." It would have been much better in the circumstances had none of the documents been printed at all. It would require a photographic reproduction to present adequately to the reader the hopeless nature of documents edited on the plan adopted by the Shropshire Archaeological Society.

I have selected the examples named above merely to illustrate my point, that on the serious side of literary work, and in the criticism of such work, we are at present suffering badly from the disease I will call by the name "want of thoroughness." What has been said will be sufficient at least to indicate the existence of something

not altogether healthy and right. It is important that we should recognise the evil, because it is precisely in this kind of work, about which people generally are supposed to care little, that the first symptoms of the disease may be detected. It is not, however, we may be sure, confined altogether to this serious side of literature and literary criticism; and there are already ample signs of the spread of the infection, and of its baneful influence, in almost every branch of our national life. If this war will but bring home to us English people the truth that if a thing is worth doing at all it is worth doing well, and that there is no "good enough" for Englishmen but the best, it will indeed be to us, as a nation, a blessing in disguise.



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